LETTERS FOR THE PEOPLE,

ON THE

PRESENT CRISIS.

1. SLAVERY IN MISSOURI---Rapidly declining.
2. NEBRASKA TERRITORY---Where is it? and What is it?
3. THE AMERICAN INDIANS---How shall the Government treat them?
4. THE PACIFIC RAILROAD---Where shall it run? and Reasons why.
5. COMPROMISES---How kept, and what their effects.
6. THE TRUE PATRIOT'S DUTIES --- To be performed without delay.

Exchange
West. Reserve Hist. Soc.

NOTE TO THE READER.

I have lately received, from an esteemed friend, the following letters. They were written in reply to a request that he would furnish me his opinions of the influence of slavery, upon the opening of Nebraska Territory, and the building of the Pacific Rail-road. So deeply have they interested my own mind, so startling are some of the facts disclosed, and so beneficial does knowledge, by the people, concerning these important questions, become in an issue like the present, that I have deemed it my duty to make them public.

Every one who reads these letters, will do so with far more interest and benefit, if he has before him some one of the large maps of North America, or the Western States and Territories.

As they are sent forth for the benefit of the masses, I would request every gentleman to whom they are sent, to give them the widest circulation in his power; and to the Press—that mighty engine for good or evil in every community—I especially commend them as affording an opportunity of vast and immediate usefulness, which will be endless in its benefits to the people.

A. H. K.

New York, Oct. 1st, 1853.

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LETTERS FOR THE PEOPLE.

LETTER I.

Saint Louis, June 1st, 1853.

My dear Friend: In reply to your letter, requesting me to give you my opinions of the signs of the times, and the bearings of the great national questions just now to be settled, as they have been presented to my view at this point,—a point so deeply interested in both the subjects you inquire about,—I shall, for my own satisfaction, as well as to arrive at actual facts, give them a practical and minute, as well as philosophical examination.

Highly as you estimate the importance of these questions, you can not, and *no* man can, calculate a tenth of the influence they will exert to bless our land, if settled aright. We are passing a *crisis*, and, if our country and our Congress do their duty to themselves, to universal humanity, and to God, all will be well.

You inquire, How large is Nebraska? What are its soil and climate? Will it be admitted as a Territory this winter? Will it be free? Now, there are preliminary questions and side issues, which should be first disposed of, to come to a true understanding of the case; and, while I shall treat the two great topics in all my letters, viz:

NEBRASKA TERRITORY—*Shall it be free?*
PACIFIC RAILROAD—*Where shall it be built?*

I shall examine, in my first letter,

The position of Missouri, as regards Slavery—Slavery waning in Missouri—Size and importance of Missouri—Slavery unnatural to the State—Re-election of Thomas H. Benton—Why defeated—How re-elected—Internal improvements—State appropriations—Influx of foreigners—Influence of foreigners on Slavery:

And I proceed, as preliminary to the admission of Nebraska, to examine

The social and political condition of the sovereign State of Missouri.

This vast State, now the frontier of civilization and refinement for the Atlantic side of our Republic, is destined, before many years, to be the very center of the nation, in business, wealth, and population. The position of this State, geographically, is but poorly understood by the nation at large. Its northern boundary, if extended eastward, would pass through the city of New York. Its southern boundary,

the famous parallel of 36° 30m., runs through Tennessee and North Carolina, about five miles south of their north boundary. On the east flows the Mississippi, and, on the west for 200 miles, and through the whole center of the State, rolls the Missouri, measuring by its windings more than 600 miles within the State. From the Mississippi to the Missouri, the State is about 220 miles wide; in the broadest part, from the Mississippi to the western meridian, it is more than 300 miles.

Saint Louis, the future metropolis of the nation, is situated on the Mississippi river, midway between the northern and southern boundaries of the State, and is on the same line with the city of Washington.

All the land north of the Missouri, and a strip south of it, reaching across the State, is suited for agriculture. There is no richer land in the world, none which can produce heavier crops, or which more readily responds to the exertions of the husbandman. The southern half of the State consists of beautiful grazing lands, interspersed with mineral sections, which alone make her richer than any other State in the Union. Such is the State, 300 miles from north to south, with an average breadth of 231 miles.

Missouri is one of those States "*blessed*" with the curse of slavery, and its political relations to the Union are different from those of any other State in the confederacy. Her admission was a cause of contention, which shook the whole nation to its center. A compromise was effected. Henry Clay brought forward an agreement between the contending parties, to which they assented. But, even while he produced the Missouri Compromise, while he himself was a slaveholder, he urged the citizens of Missouri not to permit the introduction of slavery, and declared, were he a citizen of that State, he would oppose the legalizing of slavery there with all his ability.—Had Missouri but heeded his prophetic voice, what hundreds of thousands of population, what tens of millions of moneys, now unpossessed, would have been hers.

But slavery, although legalized in this State, has never flourished in it to any great extent. The contest concerning its admission was so fierce, that it has seemed to the south as questionable, whether or not slavery could maintain the foothold, which it then obtained. And this feeling is beginning to enter the minds of our most discerning citizens who are owners of slaves; and it is not without foundation. I proceed to give some *data*, to show that

The Institution of slavery is fast crumbling, and is soon to fall in Missouri:

I state as an indication of the feeling in regard to slavery in Missouri.

1. The re-election of Thomas H. Benton to Congress.

In the midst of the agitation which recently pervaded the nation, and the threatened division of the Union, the Legislature of the State of Missouri gave in their pledge of adherence to a Southern Confederacy, should one be formed; and also gave instructions to their Senators and Representatives how to vote, in all cases involving slavery

and the Wilmot Proviso. Mr. Benton, in the Senate, disobeyed these instructions, and refused to form any union with southern nullifiers. This called down the wrath of the slaveocracy of Missouri; he was broken of the honor he had borne for thirty years, as a Senator of this State. His enemies supposed they had triumphed; for a time, his friends almost despaired; but, offering himself as a candidate for the Lower House, he was elected. He now holds a place, as far as personal influence is concerned, more powerful than before; and his friends hope, at the next Senatorial election, to place him in the seat at present occupied by Mr. Atchison, and his enemies with trembling are expecting it will be done.

The defeat of Mr. Benton resulted not so much from a dislike to his sentiments, as from fierce, sudden opposition, which dispirited his friends, while he was not present to reply, or encourage them. But they have rallied, and he himself upon the trail of Atchison, with the courage and the strength of a lion, is making a canvass of the State.

I believe it is the policy of the Whigs throughout the Union, to permit slavery to take its natural course, to neither legislate to extend it, nor to uproot it; but to let the various elements, in the constitution of a free and Christian nation gradually, but surely, eradicate the evil. In Missouri, the Whig party, as a whole, may be considered as Wilmot Proviso men, who would not, if the question could be brought up distinctly by itself, do any thing to directly continue, or propagate, slavery. While this is true, so long as Missouri is a slave State, the great parties must and will act in accordance with the economy of the State, and may, in their strifes, leave this question untouched.—Thus it is with the Whig party of Missouri.

Mr. Benton, however, is a democrat. His defeat was upon the express ground, that he did not regard the slave interest of Missouri. He acknowledged that he did not, and declared she would be infinitely richer, happier, more populous and prosperous, were she free. He eats none of his words, he takes no step backward. When cast out of the Senate, speaking to his enemies, he declares that should all his friends desert him, he would alone maintain his position on this question. "*The war is a war of extermination, and the war is but just begun.*" Such are his sentiments, they are founded upon the glorious scenes which rise before his far-seeing eye in the future, when, with a different policy, Missouri having marched to the first rank among the peerless sisterhood of States, his statue shall be crowned with laurel, and his name honored in song, as her noblest son. He cannot fall back from his position, for the longer he gazes, the brighter grows the vision, and the louder the acclamations. With such sentiments in his mouth, was he re-elected in the face of the most violent opposition; and with such sentiments in his heart are the people of Missouri preparing to elevate him again to the Senate. He could be elected to the Senate to-day, if the question were proposed to the people. The instructions he disobeyed, and the dissolution action of the legislature, are to day hateful and odious with the people. Politically, it may safely be set down that three-fourths of the

State would vote against slavery, were the question to come up *directly*, slavery or no slavery in Missouri.

I mention as an indication that slavery is soon to fall in Missouri.

2. The progress of Internal Improvements.

It is a common saying in this State, "one German knocks out three slaves, one Irishman two;" and it is as true as common. Labor is very high, white servants can not be obtained, and the owners of slaves let them at high prices. This diminution of hands on the plantations makes the price of those retained still higher; and, in this manner, a demand is produced for slave labor, which would not exist in the State, could those who "hire," and do not "own," supply themselves with white help.

Legislative aid, amounting to more than $8,000,000, has just been granted to various railroads in the State. Hannibal and St. Joseph, $1,500,000; Pacific, $3,000,000; South Western, $1,000,000; Iron Mountain, $750,000; North Missouri, $2,000,000. All of these roads will be in progress this year, and they will produce a vast influx of foreign population. Wherever these roads run, the families of laborers can find, within a few miles, employment and good wages. Labor, being high in all departments, many will leave the employ of the contractors, and become residents of the various towns and cities.

When the roads are completed, the State will find some 15,000 or 20,000 foreign population within its borders, ready to do any kind of work that may be offered,—a population which will tell *politically* as well as socially, upon the system of slavery. This State has never before offered for construction any public work, either railroad or canal, so much the delight of the foreign population. There has been no excitement to call them hither. But now, the time has come, the people demand improvements in transportation, travel, mails, and they will have them. Each section, jealous of every other, demands them at the same time; and the next five years will witness an immigration of foreigners into this State, which will have no parallel in the West. Many are now in the State, scattered in every direction, ready to give their brethren a hearty welcome, and point out to them the speediest and richest avenues to a competency, when they shall come among them.

Nor is this all. A great portion of the foreign population of our country congregate in large towns, and go from one place to another where the stages of travel are easy, quick, and cheap, taking employment wherever they can find it, and hearing of all good openings for labor in the neighborhood of the road. Thus, when these shall be all completed, and in regular operation, they will steadily and rapidly furnish to the State free labor.

It is probable that, within five years, as the direct result of the building of these railroads, 15,000 men, not now in the State, will be introduced; and of women and children belonging to them able to labor, there will be 15,000 more. In the same time, the increase of the *whole* slave population will not exceed 15,000, and they, too, almost all young children,—a burden and expense to their owners for the first twelve years.

Thus, while the whole increase of the efficient slave-working force, for the next five years, will probably be less than *four thousand*, the efficient white force, of foreigners alone, will amount to some 30,000, in addition to the children they will bring with them and produce, in that period.

Wherever in a slave State a foreigner goes, he not only creates a competition disadvantageous to slave labor, but carries absolute opposition to it with him. There are every where in slave States, thousands of men, who would rather hire a man and pay *him* for his services, than hire a slave, and pay a master for his labor. Although the deepest love often exists between a master and slave, it is rare indeed that it springs up between the hirer and the slave. On the other hand, friendship does constantly spring up between the employer and the employed, where both are voluntary in their mutual agreement. Almost unconsciously to themselves, this class which is vastly the majority in this State will, with the supply of free labor, entirely withdraw their support from the institution of slavery, and gradually look upon it as a nuisance, and a disadvantage to the community; and then desire, and at last take steps to rid themselves of it. This is the inevitable course of things.

More anon.

Yours truly, LYNCEUS.

LETTER II.

Decline of Slavery in Missouri, continued—Saint Louis—Population—Slaves—Free element—Situation—Rivers—Railroads—Prospects—Census—Slaves in Missouri—Farms in Missouri—Social Distribution of Slaves—Number of efficient Slaves—Ratio of Freedom—Free Ratio rapidly increasing.

Saint Louis, June 10th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: In my last, I enumerated some of the indications, that slavery is soon to fall in the State of Missouri. I will now mention,

3. *The rapid and healthy growth of this noble city.*

Between 1840 and 1850, Saint Louis gained 66,275 inhabitants. The county of Saint Louis, including the city, had, in 1850, 105,064. What character of population was that, as regards the question before us? There are now in Saint Louis county, including the city, but 5,967 slaves, while the whole population probably exceeds 135,000: so that, since 1840, there has been a gain on the side of "No slavery in Missouri," of more than 100,000, in twelve years in a single county. This 100,000 are worth as much money in a physical capacity for labor alone, as the 87,000 slaves of the State. The State, then, has gained in this one city and county more absolute value of energy, enterprise, and labor, than all the slave property of Missouri, which has been sixty years reaching its present amount and value.

Among this 100,000 are men of education and talent, in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the hospital, who bring to us the honor and respect of the nation. In that 100,000, also can be found more than three-fourths of the capital and business talent, which are rolling money so rapidly into our State, and exert so commanding an influence over the mercantile interests of the whole of the Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio valleys. When we consider not only the bones, sinews, and muscles, gained since 1840, here in our own city, worth as I have stated more than all the slaves in Missouri, but add to that the intelligence, and freedom of action, of this mass of beings; and then add to that the vast abilities, the capital, and the influence it possesses, and the slavery of Missouri fades into *insignificance* before it.

But the growth of this city has just commenced. Nature has placed her midway between the springs and outlets of the Mississippi, has seated her between the mouths of the Missouri and Ohio, and pours upon her bosom the waters of the Illinois. So long as these mighty rivers shall flow, she will have a commerce which will year by year increase.

And art and science have been called in, to assist in those directions where mighty rivers do not flow. Already, by her steamers and the Alton railroad, she is pouring supplies of merchandize into Central Illinois. She is binding herself to Cincinnati by iron bands, to make it but a stopping station between New York and the metropolis. [See map.]

She is building a railroad to bring the iron mountain within her corporation. She is constructing another to turn the wealth of Iowa and Minnesota into her bosom. She is running a line west 300 miles to the Indian country, there to cross the Missouri into the fertile Platte country, thence to be extended to the Pacific States; and she is stretching another still into the valley of the Arkansas. Such are her prospects; a circle of a thousand miles, north and west, rolls all its commerce and products into her marts; and as these countries increase in population and wealth, so must increase her standing and glory.

It is true that our papers are defiled by the advertisements of slave-traders, but they are few. Our Court-house witnesses the sale, in the public street, of "God's image cut in ebony;" and yet, this is emphatically a free city. When the auctioneer leaves the block, the Abolitionist, even, may mount it and make his harangues, and be protected by the masses. Most of the sales are for debt, or to close estates in accordance with the statute law. As a city belonging to a slave State, we live on, and try to be peaceable, and obey the laws; seeing a brighter and happier day fast approaching.

But while St. Louis says nothing about slavery, she nevertheless wishes slavery abolished. Were the 87,000 slaves free, there would be a more brisk circulation of money. There would be 87,000 new consumers, at once, in the State. Labor would be more honorable, and the pursuits of agriculture being followed with more energy,

commerce would be sensibly increased. But St. Louis bides her time. She is attracting the eyes of the whole nation; emigrants hear of her, and through her of the State, and in armies they are coming to obtain homes on her fertile lands. The day hastens when St. Louis shall boast her 500,000, and when Missouri shall be free.

I mention as another indication,

4. *The developments of the last Census.*

I have with great care prepared the following original statistical tables, from the limited sources within my possession. They may be depended upon as correct; the authority upon whose data they are founded, is the 3d edition of Richard S. Fisher's Census of the U.S. for 1850, and the Family Christian Almanac, for 1853.

This table contains a statement of the following facts. The total population; the total number of whites; total number of free blacks; total number of slaves; proportion of free persons to each slave; proportion of slaves to each farm; proportion of slaves to each free black. These items are calculated for each of the slave States individually.

States.	Total Population.	Total Whites.	Total Free Blacks	Total Slaves.	Number of Farms	Proportion of Free to Slaves.	Proportion of Slaves to Free Blacks.	Proportion of Slaves to Farms.
Delaware,	91,535	71,289	17,957	2,289	6,063	39.0	1.2	3.7
Maryland,	583,035	419,590	74,077	90,368	21,860	5.4	3.7	4.1
Virginia,	1,421,661	894,204	53,929	472,528	77,015	2.0	8.7	6.1
North Carolina,	868,903	553,295	27,196	288,412	56,916	2.0	10.6	5.1
South Carolina,	668,507	274,647	8,851	385,009	27,868	0.13	43.0	13.8
Georgia,	905,999	521,438	2,880	381,681	51,759	1.4	132.0	7.4
Alabama,	771,671	426,507	2,272	342,892	41,964	1.2	150.0	8.2
Mississippi,	606,555	295,753	899	309,898	33,960	0.9	344.0	9.0
Louisiana,	511,974	255,416	17,537	239,021	13,422	1.1	13.6	17.8
Texas,	212,592	154,102	331	58,161	12,198	2.6	175.7	4.7
Florida,	87,401	47,167	925	39,309	4,304	1.2	42.6	9.1
Kentucky,	982,405	761,688	9,736	210,981	74,777	3.6	21.6	2.8
Tennessee,	1,002,625	756,893	6,271	239,461	72,710	3.1	28.0	3.2
Missouri,	682,043	592,077	2,544	87,422	54,458	6.9	34.0	1.6
Arkansas,	209,639	162,083	589	46,982	17,758	3.4	79.7	2.6
Dist. Columbia,	51,687	47,999		3,688		14.0		

By this table it appears, that while Missouri is second only to Texas in size, and seventh in population among the slave States, she is the eleventh as regards her slave population. She is also the fifth in the number of cultivated farms. But more to the purpose: With the exception of little Delaware, with her eight free blacks to every slave, and thirty-eigh free persons to every slave, and but one-third of a slave to work a plantation, with a slave increase of only eighty-three in ten years; leaving out this little State, Missouri has twice as strong a free element within her as any other slave State!

Slave labor is especially valuable in agricultural pursuits, where the owner can feed his slaves, and clothe them, at the actual cost of home productions of food and clothing. It is not so profitable

where all they eat and wear must be purchased at high market prices. It is profitable where one man can control and oversee the labor of several individuals, in reference to the most plain kinds of labor, but not where it takes one-half the time of a man worth $1.50 per day, to oversee a slave worth 75c. per day.

I will make a brief calculation, respecting what division could be made of the slaves of Missouri, supposing that withdrawing them from all other occupations, they could become common field hands. There are 87,422 slaves, and 54,458 farms, so there would be but 1 6-10ths slaves to work each farm.

But in this estimate, we have considered them as all adults and able to labor; whereas the truth is far the opposite. There are among these 87,000, at least one-third who are unable, on account of old age, sickness; or extreme youth, to repay their masters even for the food and clothing they consume: these then must at least be subtracted from the whole sum, and it stands thus 87,422—27,140 =60,282. There is then an efficient force, capable of labor, of only 60,228 to work 54,458 farms, or only one and one-tenth slave for each farm.

But here again we have assumed, that this 60,228 were all males, whereas one half of them are women, so that the *effective* male force in all Missouri, is but 30,141 for 54,458 farms, or but 5½-tenths of a man to each farm, or in other words 30,141 farms have each one male slave, somewhere from 12 to 60 years of age, while 24,327 have none at all.

But here we have again assumed, that only one male slave is held by a master, and that as many persons as possible, are implicated in this traffic. It must now be considered, that slaves are owned generally in families, or gangs, and that they are worked in numbers. There are slaveholders on the Missouri river who hold 400, 300, 200, or 150, slaves apiece; then there are some who own 30, 40, or 50, and many who own from 10 to 25; and it is almost universally true, that where a man has anything to do with the owning of slaves, he has not less than from 4 to 7.

Were we then to divide the number of efficient male slaves by three, we should fall below rather than exceed their true distribution, among the population. There are 30,141 male working slaves; at 3 to each plantation, 10,047 farms would be supplied with slave labor, leaving 44.401 farms without a single male slave.

But again we must make a deduction: we have based these various distributions of slaves, upon the assumption that they were all farmers, and worked on plantations. But this is not true, many are owned by merchants, mechanics, and gentlemen of leisure, and to arrive at the truth in reference to the agricultural slave strength, we must deduct some 5,000 choice males, who are engaged as house servants, porters, cartmen, teamsters, mechanics, and in hemp and tobacco factories; this leaves us but 25.141 for 54.458 farms. Three slaves being the average force on a farm gives a supply to but 8.143 farms, leaving 46.315 without a slave. Such is beyond a doubt, the

absolute condition, of the slave agricultural interest in Missouri, and if slave labor is profitable any where, it is in this branch of industry.

As in the general white population, so in general negro population, the female element is just equal to the male, i. e., the two sexes vary but slightly as regards total numbers. So that if we can settle the true distribution of the males, we can justly apply the same distribution to the females, and to the children also. It will however be perceived that we have, in all our calculations thus far, been to high, for we have allowed to each male and female over 16 years of age, but one child under that age, and the blacks are notoriously prolific.

What, then, is the fact, as regards slavery in Missouri, as connected with the agricultural interest of the State? It is, that while there are 54.000 men with farms under cultivation, there are 8.143 who own slaves, and work their land with them; while there are 46.315 who will not touch or use the system for their own aggrandizement, and who, when it shall come to the issue, "Shall slavery continue longer in Missouri?" will cast six votes against it for every one the slave farmers of Missouri will cast for it.

Let us, in the next place, consider the social distribution of the slaves, as regards the whole population of the State:

The census states that there are 100.089 families in the State. The slaves in the census are not counted in families by themselves; the white families only are counted, and the slaves counted as belonging to the master. The average size of the families of this State is 6 and seven-tenths to each family. At this rate, were they counted by themselves they would be 13.048 families of slaves, which would leave 87.842 free families. As before remarked, slaves are held in considerable numbers, when held at all; and each real slaveholder generally holds as much as one family, of 6 and seven-tenths members. But by no means to over estimate the matter, we will assume, that each slave-holding family holds but half a family of slaves, or, 3 and four-tenths slaves, a man, a woman, a child from 7 to 14, and 1 from 1 to 7 years old. Every one acquainted through the State will know, that this is an estimate far to low; but upon even this basis, let us proceed.

There will, then, be in Missouri 26.096 families, holding slaves; on the other hand including the slaves held, as such, there are 74.794 families opposed to slavery.

Politically, however, the case is two-fold:

1. If the question of gradual emancipation, should be acted upon through the General Assembly of the State, the slaves, according to the constitution of the government, must be counted against themselves; for, in the apportionment of districts, every five slaves count as three freemen, so that in those districts where slavery is strongest, and could perhaps obtain a majority vote, there fewer votes elect a delegate, and those the votes of their masters; we must therefore add to the 26.096 slave-holding families, three-fifths of slave-held families, and we find 33,925 families politically efficient for slavery, while 53,817 families are politically efficient against it in the State Legislature.

2. In a popular vote.—Here matters assume a new form. Every white citizen votes directly upon the question before him; here the slave population make no difference, they neither add to nor detract from the strength of either party, and the families holding slaves come directly in contact with those who do not; or 26,096 families, are opposed by 53,817 families holding no slaves.

More anon.

Yours truly, LYNCEUS.

LETTER III.

Decline of Slavery in Missouri, continued—Ratio of Freedom to Slavery—Ratio progressive—Slave localities—Free localities—Slave Counties retrograding—Projected Courses of Railroads—Distrust of Refractory Slaves—Neglect to Import Slaves—Removal of Planters to other States—General uneasiness of Masters—Extreme anxiety respecting the organization of Nebraska.

Saint Louis, June 20, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: In my last I was exhibiting the developments of the last Census. I now state, as a proof that Missouri is to be free,—

5. *The ratio of individual freedom to individual servitude.*

In Missouri there are 594,621 free persons, and 87,422 slaves; there are, therefore, in the State 6 9-10ths free persons to each slave. For every gray-haired, broken-down old slave, there are seven old white men; for every slave in the vigor and prime of life, there are seven white men. For every slave woman, a maiden or a mother, there are seven white women; and for every youth or infant born and held as a slave, there are seven white infants or youths free. Now, when we remember that one-third of these slaves are so young as to need the care of a mother—that where a slave man is held, there a slave woman also is held to do the household work; and when again those who hold them strive to obtain as many as they can, to parcel out among their growing families, we find that generally only as many white persons are interested in the holding of slaves as there are slaves to be held. There are, then, not more than 87,422 persons, old and young, in Missouri, who have any interest or profit from the holding of slaves; and thus, for every one who favors the institution, there are six who oppose it.

In what light does this place the institution of slavery in our State? is it safe—is it a delectable position to own slaves here? It seems to me the most uncomfortable in the whole world. In Kentucky, there has been a public movement to bring about a plan of gradual emancipation, and they were defeated by a majority of about one-third. But that defeat was wrought by a commingling of the question with party prejudices and local interests, and by a fierce and

overbearing vindication of slavery. But compare, for one moment, the *ratio* we have been examining, as we find it in these two States. Kentucky has 761,688 free persons; Missouri, 592,077: Kentucky has 210,981 slaves; Missouri, 87,422. In Kentucky, there are 3 6-10ths whites to each slave; in Missouri there are 6 9-10ths whites for each slave: so that Missouri lacks but 3-10ths of a unit to have a free element within her *twice as great as that in Kentucky;* and the element of freedom in Missouri is more intelligent, influential, and wealthy, as a whole, than in Kentucky. How, then, when the masses of Missouri shall demand a popular vote—"Slavery or no slavery in Missouri?"—how will the decision fall? She can poll a vote for freedom twice as strong as that of Kentucky, and she will find more powerful advocates to urge the side of freedom.

I have often felt that I should like to write upon this subject for our city papers; but I knew they would not publish the articles. Our political journals make their bread by their columns, and they therefore follow public sentiment, and cater to it, rather than lead it. If, however, a moderate journal, ably conducted, were established in this city, whose avowed object was to bring about, in the best manner, a system of gradual emancipation for our State, its circulation would be immense, and its usefulness almost without a limit. It will not, however, be many years before public sentiment will have so far changed, that the "Republican," "Democrat," "Union," and "Intelligencer," will all stand upon the free side of the question.

I mention, as another indication,

6. *The steady increase of this ratio of freedom.*

In the year 1820, before Missouri was really a State, there were within her limits 5 5-10ths free persons to each slave. The Compromise passed, and slavery legalized, a heavy immigration from slave States commenced, and the ratio of freedom in ten years sunk one-fifth, or descended from 5 5-10ths to 4 5-10ths white men for each slave; but, true to nature and her geographical position, the free element again increased, and gained in the next ten years what it lost from 1820 to 1830, so that in 1840 the ratio stood again at 5 5-10ths white to each slave. Since that it has gone rapidly forward, and in 1850 had gone, in ten years, from 5 5-10ths to 6 9-10ths free to each slave.

What will the end of these things be? For 20 years the free element faster and faster has been outstripping the slave element! What will be the condition of Missouri when Jan. 1st, 1860, shall pour its light upon us. During the last ten years the free increase has been 802-1000ths, and the slave 507-1000ths, on their own previous accumulations. Now, if the State shall increase for the present ten years at the same ratio, it will gain, by January 1st, 1860, 477,402 freemen, and only 44,477 slaves; and the total population will be 1,070,542 freemen, and only 132,244 slaves, or a ratio of 8 1-10th whites to every slave.

But will this be the increase for the present ten years? It will not! Slaves in great numbers were brought into Missouri up to 1846.

Since January, 1850, scarce a slave has been brought into Missouri. The slaves taken away by masters removing, and those sold South on account of misdemeanors, will far outnumber those now brought into the State.

Again: the immigration into Missouri, up to 1843, had been almost entirely from the South; but from that time, a foreign and northern immigration set in, which every year becomes larger and stronger. All the men drawn hither by our public improvements, will come through an influence, which *never* before existed. Our improvements, themselves, making us the centre and not the outskirt of the nation, will overcome the obstacles of time, money, and distance, which have existed heretofore, and so greatly retarded our settlement. Our railroads will also, wherever they pass, open new fields for investments, and cultivation, which will call thousands, and hundreds of thousands, who were before unheeding, to come and settle within our bounds. The two and a half years already passed, of this present decade, fully justify the assertion, that the ratio of increase will be *double* that of the last decade—that the increase will be in the free element, and that there will be an absolute decrease in the slave element, when compared with itself in the last decade.

I mention, as further evidence that Missouri is to be free,—

7. *Some particular facts respecting slavery in this State.*

And let us briefly contemplate the slave localities, and the localities of present immigration. In 16 counties lying on the Missouri river, there are 41,127 slaves and 113,944 free. This may emphatically be called the slave region. Now this country is not increasing from immigration, and yet it is the country possessing the slaves. When we consider the population in 1840, and compare it with 1850, we shall see that some of the wealthiest, largest, and most populous counties, do not make even the progress which flows from the natural increase of the race. Calloway, in 1840, had 11,765, in 1850 13,828; gain in ten years only 2,063, or 206 each year. Boone, in 1840, had 13,561, in 1850, 14,981; gain in ten years only 1,420 — only 142, white and black, each year. Howard had, in 1840, 13,108, in 1850 13,971; gain in ten years 863, or only 86 in each year. While Cole, in 1840, had 9,286, in 1850 it had but 6,754; having in ten years lost 2,532, or 253 each year!—Who dare say that slavery is not a *blessing* and a *help* to prosperity, commerce, and *population*?

Now in this section of country, in these sixteen counties, there are but 2¾ whites for each slave. There must, then, be other portions of the State in which the free element as far exceeds the average ratio (6 9-10ths) as in these counties it falls below it. Such a locality is just opening upon the line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. In the 8 counties through which this road runs, there are 49.007 freemen, and 5,553 slaves—*i.e.*, nearly ten free to each slave. But let us take off Marion county, which is in the slave section on the Mississippi river, and we have remaining 39,609 free and 2,710 slaves, or 1 slave to 14½ free.

This section, more than 200 miles in length, opens to the emigrant

the most glorious prospects. Scarce a paper came to us all the spring, from Glasgow, Boonville, Brunswick, and other central towns upon the river, which did not mention that the steamboats were flooding them with men on their way to visit and explore the country, in order that they might enter lands, and obtain choice locations. For weeks their hotels were crowded with such visitors, either going or returning. Many also came down from Iowa, and many passed directly west from Quincy and Hannibal, to examine the country.

The line of the railroad has been entirely settled, and soon as the Railroad Commissioners have indicated their choice of lands for the use of the railroad, there will be a greater immigration to the State than it has ever before received.

The North Missouri railroad also opens another such field, it crosses the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, at nearly right angles near its center.

The South-Western road also runs, for two hundred miles, through a country where nature makes slavery unprofitable, and where the people look upon it with great displeasure. The census and observation will show the most thoughtless, that the free portions of the country have been growing for the last few years, while the slave portions have been standing still, or even losing ground. The immigration is almost entirely from the Northern States, and whether American or foreign, hates slavery.

The period of slavery is fixed in Missouri; there is no vital power in the institution to sustain or propagate itself. Being a selfish and avaricious system, no one will come from abroad to sustain and uphold it; the country is growing away from it, and it will die from being overshadowed by an uncongenial tree—the tree of absolute liberty, whose sap is the dignity of labor, whose leaves are justice and equality, whose fruits are peace, wealth, intelligence, and religion.

8. *Slavery feels itself in danger in Missouri.*

This is seen in various ways. One is, the *extreme distrust of refractory slaves.* When a slave does wrong, the master resorts not to the severer punishments usual in the slave States; for he fears lest his servant may, with the morrow, be far away for east, or west, or north. The slaves in this State are treated well, very well, and that of necessity. The masters try to govern them by kindness, instead of violence, and yet this does not suffice to keep them. To one making a winter collecting tour, it is a matter of amazement, as he passes from county to county, in every hotel bar-room, to see the almost countless number of advertisements, giving descriptions and offering rewards for runaway slaves. They are often recaptured, and are immediately sold out of the State, lest their refractory example should become contagious.

Another proof is *the neglect to procure slaves.* Slaves in Missouri are worth from $500 to $1500, while in Virginia they can be bought from $250 to $900. They can be transported for $25 each. Slaveholders, who need slaves badly to work their plantations, who have

gold locked in their coffers, who have no scruples about buying, and selling, and owning, and working slaves, will yet not lift a hand, to bring them from Virginia. They have relatives there, from whom or through whom they could obtain them. They are constantly visiting there themselves, and their factors are passing back and forth, and yet they will not purchase more. Wherefore? Laziness? No. Contentment, with present possessions? No. Humanity or conscience? By no means. What then? Nothing but fear. The same avarice that leads them to hold what they have, is a check upon them, and will not let them hold more; the *risk is too great;* they long to do it, but dare not fill their desire.

I am now speaking of the more intelligent and observing of the planters, not those who can not write their names to a note of hand, who can not read a newspaper, and who are compelled, in all business transactions requiring figures or writing, to trust to the honesty of an amanuensis. Such men know not what is passing in the country, the State, or even county. They have few thoughts which straggle beyond the fences of their farms, or off from the highways.—Thinking, clear-minded planters, are advising their children and friends not to entangle themselves with this unsafe institution, not to invest their money in such uncertain property, they say to them, "Keep clear of slavery! save your money for something else! work harder yourselves and hire whites; they will be more numerous after a little."

I mention also the EMIGRATION *of slaves and masters from Missouri.*

Three years since, two planters from Virginia moved into Andrew and Holt, with some forty slaves. In less than two years, they sold their plantations, and returned to Virginia, alleging that Missouri was an unsafe country to hold slaves.

Some of the heaviest planters in Boone, Callaway, Chariton, and Howard, have sold their lands, and have gone with their slaves to Texas, stating that a change was soon to come over the whole State, and they were unwilling to endanger their property by remaining, or to take part in the contest. A general feeling of discontent is filling the minds of the slaveholders. There are too many foreigners in the country, too many men from the north, too many poor from the slave States, who, always degraded and kept down by the competition of slavery, now loathe and hate it; there are too many of all these classes, for the intelligent slaveholder to feel at ease for a single hour.

The minds of thousands in Missouri, interested in slavery, are turned towards Texas; and it is probable that in 1851, there will be an emigration thither, that will relieve the State of several thousands of slaves The planters find they can sell their lands here for prices, which well pay for all they have expended on them, that they can buy fine farms in Texas, at government prices, where their slaves will be safe, and their minds free from care. With such inducements to draw, and such fears to drive them, they can not, and will not, long remain in Missouri; and when once the emigration is well commenced, it will increase with great rapidity.

There is, also, in Missouri, *an increasing feeling in favor of freedom,*

on the part of many masters. Slaves are constantly being liberated, by the benevolence of their masters, both during the life of the owner, and also at his death. Many slaves are buying their time, and laying up what they can, by economy and industry, towards the purchase of their freedom; many slaves are also permitted to work out their freedom, by paying to their masters their whole earnings, which are credited upon an agreed amount, which they are to pay their masters for their freedom.

Others, also, would free their slaves, but can not give the required bonds, for their proper conduct, &c. When, however, a plan of gradual emancipation shall be adopted, they will be foremost to come out, and grant freedom to their servants.

The feeling is becoming painful, through the whole State, that slavery is retarding its growth, depressing its industry, bringing deterioration upon those districts where it most abounds, making the men supercilious, the women dolls, the children imbeciles. The old men who, at the formation of our State government, helped draft our constitution and entailed slavery upon us, have lived to see the day when they mourn over their ignorance, prejudice and folly in that step, and would now take just the opposite position.

The *interest felt*, by the State in the questions pending, respecting Nebraska, *is most intense*. The whole free element sympathizes with the Missouri compromise, and wishes it free. The slave interest dare scarce speak, in their fear lest it should be so, and another wall of fire be planted beyond them. Nebraska must be a free State, whatever Congress may do about it; and this dread felt by the slave owners is not a mere imagination, it is a *reality*, which will soon be felt through every inch of Missouri.

Having slumbered for years, over the subject of common schools, on a practical and useful plan, and permitting the school money to be squandered this last winter the Legislature has passed a general common-school law, upon the very best principles adopted by other States; so that those coming to the State to settle, will find the means of education ready for their use.

Such then is the absolute position of the State of Missouri, in regard to slavery. And what a view does it present to us! Sixty years, this institution has been seeking to obtain a firm hold in this region. In 1820, it received the special legislation and fostering care and protection of the Congress of the United States. For some 20 years it was almost the only desirable outlet for southern emigration; and yet, it has for the last 20 years been absolutely losing ground! for it is of no consequence in what manner it is brought about, whether by increase of freedom or decrease of slavery, that the free element, in any particular State, obtains the ascendancy and overbalances the element of slavery.

We see here a people divided in her public policy respecting this social evil, and waging a fierce war against the imposition of this blight and incubus upon soil yet unpolluted and free from its noxious contact.

We see a steady emigration from the free States rolling into Missouri, constantly increasing the numbers, the influence and the strength of those, who long to see this evil melt away from the midst of the land, and who are willing to adopt any *judicious* and *just* method of gradual emancipation.

We see a mighty State, hitherto careless and inactive respecting her own interests, rousing herself like a lion to the work of public improvements, and throwing open her bosom and extending her hands to every son of industry and toil, in every department of labor.

We see men born under the usages and prejudices of this system, from motives of prudence, economy, public good, justice, and religion, turning away from and abandoning a system, fraught with so much against which the finer and nobler feelings of the soul must constantly rebel.

The die is cast in Missouri. Without the knowledge or intention of any man, or set of men, natural position, the peculiar settlement of other portions of the country, and the energy of freedom, have brought things to the condition above described. The currents are set, the channels cut; and no action of Congress, no effort or expense of the slave interest, can revive the element of slavery in this State; faster and faster must it fall behind, weaker and weaker will grow its voice, until scarce a whisper shall it breathe in the councils of the State—till scarce a feather's weight shall it avail in the policy of the people.

God himself has done it, he has overruled circumstances, and produced causes which have thus resulted. Well is it that it hath been thus; happy indeed that it was left to no set of fanatical, theorizing abolitionists; man can reap no glory; no effort has been put forth by him to produce it. But the same wisdom and power which planned and produced the present state of things, still are engaged to prosecute it to the end. The circumstances which we have considered are still operating, with hourly-increasing power. Time may be necessary to its full completion; but sure as there is land within her borders, or dwellers thereon, slavery on that soil is doomed to extinction, and Missouri will be free.

Premising that I have satisfied you that my positions are correct, I shall in my next proceed directly to the examination of the *Immediate Organization* of Nebraska Territory.

Truly yours,

LYNCEUS.

LETTER IV.

Louisiana Territory—Division into States—Missouri admitted to the Union—Old Boundaries of Missouri—Prohibition of slavery—West line of Louisiana Territory—Limits of Nebraska—Indian Republic—Soil—Timber—Population—Indian Reservations and Treaties.

Saint Louis, June 30, 1853

MY DEAR FRIEND: The Mississippi river was first discovered, both at the north and south, by the French; and all the lands east

and west, which poured their waters into it, were claimed as theirs. All east of the Mississippi and the Canadas, were lost in war with Great Britain, and our title from Great Britain extends no further west than the center of the Mississippi river, nor south of 31 deg. N.L.; all south of 31 deg. N. L. was ceded to us by Spain. All west of the Mississippi was claimed by France, except Mexico, which was conquered by Spain. Near the close of the 18th century, France ceded all her territory to Spain. But in 1800, Spain re-ceded this same territory to France; and in 1803, in consideration of the sum of $15,000,000, France ceded it to the United States.

In all these transactions, this vast country passed under the name of the "Louisiana Territory." In 1804, Congress divided it, upon the line of 32 deg. N.L., into two parts. The Southern part was called the Territory of Orleans, (this is now the State of Louisiana.) The Northern part was called, the District of Louisiana. In this district a territorial government was established, and it was called the Territory of Louisiana. In 1812, its name was again changed, and the State of Louisiana assuming that name, it was called the Territory of Missouri. In 1819, that portion of Missouri Territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. N.L., was erected into the Territory of Arkansas, and is now the State of Arkansas.

In 1820, Congress gave permission to the inhabitants of Missouri Territory to form a constitution, and to apply for admission into the Union, as a sovereign State. In this enactment, which embodies the Missouri Compromise, an act passed with so much difficulty, we find the following statement of the boundaries of the new State:

"*Section second.* Thence west on the parallel of latitude of 36 deg. 30 min. N.L., to a point where said parallel is intersected by a meridian line, passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kanzas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence from the point aforesaid, north, *along the said meridian line, to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines*, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence east," &c.

In Secion 8, respecting slavery: "And be it further enacted, That in *all that territory*, ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies *north of 36 deg. 30 min. N.L., not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude*, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, *shall be, and hereby is prohibited, forever.*

"Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be *lawfully reclaimed*, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

"Approved March 6, 1820."

In 1821, Missouri was admitted to the Union, on the additional condition, that any regular citizen of any State in the Union might freely enter her bounds.

The line, which separated the Louisiana Territory from the Spanish or Mexican States, is as follows:

"The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north along the western bank of that river to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source; thence north to the parallel of 42 deg. north latitude, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea," (i. e. Pacific Ocean.)

The present States, which have been erected out of this Louisiana Territory, bear the following names: Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa. They all border east upon the Mississippi river. The west line of Louisiana and Arkansas, until it crosses the Red River, is the same as the old dividing line. But above the Red River, and between it and the Arkansas, there is a strip of the old Territory, 5 degrees 30 minutes, in width. This strip extends 1deg. 30m. north of the south line of Missouri; here the Territory widens, stretching from Western Missouri to the Rocky mountains, 14 deg. from east to west and 4deg. from north to south; at the latitude of 42deg. it extends from Western Iowa and the Upper Missouri, to the Pacific Ocean.

We inquire, first, What portion of this country is to be considered the Nebraska Territory? Nebraska is the Indian name for the Great River, which flows into the Missouri, near Council Bluffs, commonly called by its French name, the Platte. To me, it seems that the Nebraska Territory is already distinctly marked out, by present boundaries and past legislation. By annexation and the Mexican war, the United States have acquired Texas, Utah, New Mexico, and California. But all these, while they come clear up to the old boundary line, do not pass beyond it, so that upon the west and south by these new States and Territories, and upon the east by Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, it is hemmed in. The latitude of 42 deg. north runs from the Rocky mountains through to the Pacific; it is as fine a base line for the new States above, as any that could be selected; it separates California and Oregon; it bounds Utah on the north; it divides New York and Pennsylvania, and would assist in the surveys and divisions of Missouri Territory, in future years. [See map.]

It has been often suggested, that the Nebraska river should be its northern boundary. But the whole of that river should fall *within* its limits, as the Territory which will be established, north of Nebraska, will have within its center the Missouri river, and all her

fine large tributaries from the north; the Missouri, a stream navigable for the largest boats; whereas, Nebraska would have but two rivers within her borders—the Kanzas and the Platte, neither of them in the least navigable.

It has been urged, that it extends no further south than a line drawn from the Arkansas river, in 37 deg. 40m., north latitude.—This leaves a point of the old Louisiana Territory, longitudinally 5 deg. 30m. wide, and latitudinally 4 deg. long. But as the Missouri Compromise legislated upon a portion of this country, and fixed a standard line for the separation of the country upon a most important subject, it seems to me, that precedent and justice require, that the north should yield all below that line, and that the south should ask nothing north of it. Let the line of 36 deg. 30m.—the south line of Missouri—the Compromise line—be the southern-most boundary, and let the remaining part fall to Texas, to help form the new free State there.

The limits, as we have described them, make the new Territory, at the east end, about 350 miles from north to south; at the western extremity about 200 miles, having an average width of about 240 miles, and running back from the State of Missouri to the Rocky mountains. Such are the limits which seem naturally to belong to it. It trenches upon no new possessions, and it is governed by the two great lines of 36deg. 30m. and 42deg. north latitude. No mistake can ever occur concerning its boundaries, for they are lines already settled.

Are there inhabitants in this Territory? There are. In 1803, Congress authorized the President, to exchange tracts of land west of the Mississippi for lands owned by Indians, residing east of the Mississippi.

It was the design of the Government to collect the Indian tribes, from among the various States, and, locating them in one section of country, to establish a simple form of government, and erect them into a State by themselves. In 1825, the Kanzas and Osages, with small reservations for themselves, ceded to the United States all their original title to the lands upon both sides of the Kanzas river. In 1833, the four great divisions of the Pawnees ceded to the United States all their claims south of the Platte. Other smaller tribes ceded to the Government the remainder of the land, lying south between Arkansas and the old Spanish line.

In 1830, Congress passed special enactments in reference to the removal of the Indians, and the division of this country for their reception; and the work of transplanting was commenced with vigor; $500,000 having been appropriated to enable the President to execute the provisions of the act.

There are now, south of the line 36deg. 30m. north latitude,—the proper southern boundary of Nebraska—the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and one half of the Cherokees. North of 36deg. 30m., are one half the Cherokees, the Osages, Cherokee reservation, Wyandots, Pottowatomies, Otawas, Chippewas, Peorias and Kaskas.

kias, Wears and Pinkashaws, Shawnees, Kanzas, Delawares, Kickapoes, Iowas, Sacks and Foxes, Half Breeds, Otoes, and Missourias. I can find no estimate of the population of this Territory; but it is probable that there are not more than 12,000 in the tribes north of 36deg. 30m., N. L.

Let us now inquire, Is this country *desirable to settle in?*

The valley of the Kanzas to its head waters, is a rich loam. The valley of the Platte is low, but for some 250 miles is very fertile, then it changes to a deep sand. The two great divides, or ridges, between the Arkansas and Kanzas, and the Kanzas and Platte, are a mixed loam and sand, or gravel, which makes a delightful soil to till, and returns heavy crops. The divide, between the Kanzas and Platte, is more beautiful and fertile than the other. The valleys are tolerably supplied with timber. There is also some timber along the Missouri river, and a slight growth is found along the small streams. Coal has been found of a superior quality at several locations, and there are indications that an abundant supply will be found for the whole Territory.

The Osage orange is indigenous to the southern part of the country, and can be cultivated with the greatest ease in all the Territory; so much so, that, with tolerable attention, three years will produce hedges sufficient to turn any stock. The want of timber for fencing is thus readily supplied to the prairie land, and the expense of clearing timbered land, fencing and bringing it into cultivation, far exceed the trouble, time, and labor, of producing the finest hedged farms in the prairie districts.

The want of materials for building will be supplied by the pine, brought across by the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, which can be sold by that route lower than that which is now used in Western Missouri, and brought up the river.

The want of lumber will also lead to the erection of brick, stone, and even beautiful free stone houses, as these materials can be abundantly obtained in various localities. Such is the nature of the country, for some 300 miles west; then there are fertile divides, and fine rich prairies, scattered over a country, in some places almost barren.

It is also thought that, ere long, the cutting and sawing pine will become a heavy business on the James and Sioux rivers, which would place this country on an equality of prices, for lumber and shingles with the States on the Missisippi.

All these things considered, there is no section of the United States more inviting to the settler than this Nebraska Territory. With its clear air, crystal streams, far-stretching, rolling, flower-covered prairies, it is no wonder the remark is often made, that no one has set his foot on it who has not wished he had a home there; and until the population shall have reached more than 500,000 souls, there can be no lack of room, or choice situations for the immigrant.

But is there no white population there?

At Fort Leavenworth, there is a reservation of nine square miles, belonging to the United States' Government. Here, there is a popu-

lation, which varies greatly according to the season of the year, and the demands of the army, numbering in officers. soldiers, civilians in the service of Government, mechanics, farmers, teamsters, &c., &c., from 400 to 1200 persons, commonly the number does not exceed 600.

There are also various missionary stations, belonging to the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Catholics, at which more or less white persons are required, as teachers and instructors in domestic and agricultural pursuits. There are also the United States' mechanics, located by treaties among the tribes, as carpenters, blacksmiths, and farmers. There are also the authorized Indian traders, the Indian agents, and the authorized agents of the American Fur Company.

Some 70 votes were polled last year, when a delegate was sent from Nebraska to Congress. None of the persons at Leavenworth were included in this number, and it is thought not more than one half of the white residents voted at all. These are the only white inhabitants in the country.

In what manner do the Indians hold their claim?

The United States in a particular treaty express the *consideration*, in behalf of which the grant is made. The boundaries of *each* tract are minutely described, and many, if not all have been definitely run, and the landmarks set up. Under the *solemn promise* of the protection of the United States, these lands are *ceded* to them. The Indians on their part agree that, should they ever forsake their lands, or their tribe become extinct, the title shall *revert* to the United States. That they will not sell any of the soil to a white man, and, in case of sale, the United States shall be the buyers. The United States on her part promises them her *protection forever*, if they choose to remain; and, if the Indians desire it, promises to execute to them *a patent* for the same. The United States promises, that she will remove, by *military force, any man*, who shall attempt to settle, or shall trespass upon, these lands belonging to the Indians.

But *how much* of this Territary *do the Indians* thus own?

The portions of land assigned to various tribes differ greatly in size —almost all of them adjoin Missouri, and stretch back west so that there is no western line that is common to any two of them. At the lat. 36deg. 30m., they run back 200 miles; a little further north, 20, then 60, and further north there is a portion, touching the line of Missouri, which is still *unalloted to any tribe*. The Kanzas reservation is back a hundred miles from the Missouri line, and on the south side of the Kanzas river, and is some 25 miles square. The Delaware, Shawnee, and Kickapoo reservations, are 60, 70, or 80 miles long, but not of a great width. Then some small tribes, and just south of the mouth of the Platte, there are unassigned lands. Perhaps the Indian reservations will cover one-eighth of the Territory. Their reservations embrace the most desirable land, i. e., being hunters, they especially desired the timber, and, for this reason, we find their reservations running west upon the Arkansas, and the Kanzas, while on the divides they cling to the Missouri river, and State boundary.

More anon. Yours truly, LYNCEUS.

LETTER V.

Disposition of Indian Claims—Indians growing poorer—Shall they be removed—Government by Chiefs—Indians defrauded—Allot Lands to Indians—Sell to Actual Settlers—Maine Liquor Law—Payments not to be in Money—Can Settlers enter the Territory now?

Saint Louis, July 13th, 1853.

My dear Friend: *How should the Indian claims in Nebraska be disposed of?*—This is a question of great perplexity, and of the deepest importance to our government and to the Indians. For years the Government has been sustaining the Indians upon that ground, —has provided that country for them, and given them to understand that it was their last remove, and that they need go no further. A large part of their annuities have been paid in money. The result of this has been that the Indians have indulged in habits of laziness and carelessness, while their money lasted, making no provision for the future; and when it was gone, they took themselves to their savage mode of life—hunting, fishing, and living on the spontaneous productions of nature.

The lands once possessed by them were larger, or more valuable, than those they now possess; and they have been using up the difference between their old and new homes in money, stock, ammunition, blankets, and food, which the Government from year to year is paying them. So that to-day they are in reality just as much poorer than they were then, as all the annuities amount to which they have received from the United States, to the present time. Would it be right for the United States to encourage these poor Indians to make another remove? Shall they be induced to sell these lands, to take a smaller portion, still further in the west, for a new home; and there devour, ten years to come, the difference between their present and new home, and at last find themselves more wretched, more abject, more despised, and vastly poorer than they are to-day.

Besides this, *where shall they go?* Where is the country for them to live in? The United States have not yet extinguished the titles of the original tribes further west. They must first prepare another new place to transplant them. When that is done, then must the hearts, once made to bleed, as they were torn from their fathers' graves to come west of the Mississippi, be lacerated again, as they take up their mournful march towards the setting sun. Then must all the teaching, for which they have paid so much, be thrown away; all the advance made toward civilization be lost, and they thrust back into barbarism; then must the few intelligent and industrious among them either leave their nation, and become single citizens of the United States, or sacrifice the toil of years, to go with their friends into the wilderness, there to be pointed at, as monuments, that it is in vain for the Indian to attempt to live or amass wealth like the white man.

The Indians also are receding from the shores of the Pacific, and

are being crowded eastward; and the two approaching tides of civilization can as easily and humanely sweep around these Indians, and permit them to remain in their present homes, as to bear them constantly tossed upon their outmost waves, at last to be dashed to pieces, and go down in the mad confluence of the waters.

There must be a stop made somewhere. From Maine to Louisiana, scarce an Indian remains east of the Mississippi. The middle meridian of the United States runs about 20 miles west of Fort Leavenworth, and passes through more than half of the tribes of which we have been speaking. Why crowd them further? Will an hour arrive when rest can be more easily obtained for them?—when they will be more numerous or influential? No! now is the hour, and their own country is the place for their salvation, at the hands of a great, powerful, and noble nation.

About the year 1800, there were drawn up hypothetical statistical tables, of the future population of the United States. The last census verified these estimates; the census of 1850 exceeding the estimate just 110,000. That table, so correct for the past fifty years, estimates the population of the United States in the year 1901 at 101,553,377. In 1877 it will be 50,000,000. Thus in 24 years, there will be twice as dense a population as there is now. As new places always furnish great opportunities to the young and enterprising, to obtain wealth and influence. The next 24 years will see the whole country settled from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; and where will the Indian's foot find a resting-place if he is again removed?

Let him remain;—restrain every influence which would degrade or destroy him where he is;—surround him with every incentive to bodily and intellectual labor and advancement, and if he must fall, let him fall an honored relic of a noble race, amid the love and sorrow of his greater and more blest white brethren.

There are at present, two things, which operate against the advancement of the Indians.

1. *The government by Chiefs.*—The chiefs are generally such by birth, or distinguished subtlety, or physical power and bravery; not by intelligence, or superior integrity. To maintain their own influence, they oppose instruction, and the adoption of the habits of white men. Their position affords them opportunities of great gain. In all bargains with the tribe, the chief, by virtue of his office, must have the largest share. They are the veriest petty tyrants over their own subjects, and there is scarce one whom money will not buy, to betray the interests of his tribe. This evil greatly facilitates the other.

2. *Defrauding the Indians at the Government payments.*—It is notorious throughout the West, that the Indians part with much of their money for scarcely the shadow of an equivalent. They are permitted to run up accounts before the annual payments; the persons to whom they become indebted often present themselves with their books, in which the prices charged are exorbitant: the owing Indian comes up for his money, the account is presented; unable to tell

whether it is correct or not, the Indian acknowledges his indebtedness, the money is counted to the creditor, the Indian taking the remainder, *if there is any.*

But there is another and a worse way than this. An account is run up indiscriminately with a nation; then the chiefs are induced to persuade the people to call it a national debt, and to execute a note for the total amount, together with a bonus for waiting for the payment. This note is to be paid in a *lump* out of the national annuity, before it is individually parcelled. It is generally believed that, in these transactions, there has been the greatest dishonesty. It was currently reported in this city last winter, that, at the last payment, one firm in Western Missouri brought in an order on one tribe, for $60,000 which was *cashed*, although it left a part of the tribe, in almost a starving condition; and yet, you can not persuade business men here, that they were entitled to more than one-third that amount.

But what is the *pecuniary aspect of their removal*? The Indians have made some advance, and while the chiefs have maintained their influence over a majority, of almost every tribe, there are some, who have attended to education, and agriculture. The wild, reckless, improvident part, as their annuities are drawing to an end, unused to labor, unlearned to business, would sell out again, and retreat to the wilderness. But the better portion, who have built houses, and own farms, some of them worth $25. per acre, wish to remain. The tribes are begining to learn the value of improvements, and to estimate the value of land by that in Missouri. The eagerness, also, manifested by the whites to obtain their country, has aroused them to consider its value:

The result is, that some of the tribes would prefer not to sell their lands to the Government at all, but themselves divide them into farms, and sell them to actual settlers, at the best rates. Other tribes would be glad to sell a portion of their land, and retain the remainder.

The average price which Government has paid for Indian lands, is about 26 cents per acre. Some of these Indian reservations would not pay the Government any thing for buying. But it is probable that the Government can not get an acre less than 50 cents in any tribe. In case Government should attempt the purchase of the whole of the land, the improvements, and the unwillingness of the Indians in some cases to remove, would bring their lands *above the government price for its own lands*, and it could not buy. The United States will either be obliged to pay the Indians their price, or do without it. It will be economy, on the part of the Government, never to attempt their removal.

The true policy of our government would be this: To act only as guardian for the Indians, in their disposal of their own lands. To accomplish this, purchase their land at a fair valuation, reserving to each male, in each nation, a quarter-section of land; & if they choose to buy more let them buy it, at the same price they sell it to the United States.

Each Indian should be made to select his own quarter section; and in cases of extreme minority, let the parent or natural guardian, select for the child. This gives to each Indian the opportunity to retain, or buy in, all his individual improvements, and retains to each nation all its buildings, and the advance it has made in civilization; and by thus leaving the unoccupied lands, bring them at a reasonable price to the Government, to be sold at government prices to white settlers.

The tracts of land thus reserved to each individual, should be made *inalienable and untransferable for him and his heirs for the period of* 15 *years:* and in case any family should become extinct, let the land be sold and the proceeds go into the moneys held for the benefit of the tribe. This is necessary, that the Indian should not, through his own laziness, disaffection, or ignorance, or by the chicanery or injustice of others, dispose of his lands, and his family be left without a home. A *patent* should be issued for each particular quarter-section, to the person to whom it properly belongs, and whether he occupies it or not, should be reserved for him and his heirs until the 15 years have passed, when he can retain or dispose of it as he pleases.

Let the remainder of the country be sold, not to speculators, but to actual settlers. The whites would, in a few months, vastly outnumber the Indians. An Indian can and will work for money, as well as a white man; there will be among the new comers, a great demand for laborers; so that no Indian need, or can starve among them; and they will learn how to labor, and become acquainted with practical agriculture. The Indians, also, will be stimulated to cultivate their own lands, by the onward progress of those around them, and the natural preference to labor for one's self, rather than for another.

The proceeds of the lands, not contained in the above-mentioned reservations, should not be paid to the Indians in money; it should all be funded, and the annual interest should be expended in such a manner as to advance their civilization and interests, and in such a way, that they can not squander it. Let a certain number of houses be erected on their lands annually, worth from two to four hundred dollars each; furnish them plows and implements of labor; admit them as citizens of the United States. Especially give their children the advantage of common-school system, which should be projected for all the State, upon a basis so broad, that they shall be absolutely *free;* and furnish them particular facilities for attendance upon these schools.

There is one point further, of absolute necessity. Let Congress pass the Maine Liquor Law, as an eternal ordinance upon its admission. The Maine Liquor Law has carried away much glory and praise, which does not rightfully belong to it. The Nebraska law, which has been in rigorous operation for many years, makes the selling of liquor to the Indians a punishable offence, and confiscation of liquor follows the act. The fire-water must be kept from the Indian, or he

is ruined; and unless congress passes a law for the whole territory, it will be impossible to discriminate between the Indian and any other person in the traffic. Congress has for years exercised the power to forbid any one to sell to the Indians intoxicating drinks. She is sworn to protect and bless them, and if it is the only life for these nations, that it be kept away, Congress has the right, and every thing just and humane demands, that it be an eternal statute of the Territory and State; and whoever moves in there will do so under the provision, and subject to it; and it never can be anything but a blessing to the State.

Under these circumstances, if a few of the savage or dissolute Indians shall forsake their houses, to wander away and perish, or become incorporated with the wild tribes, let them go! it is far better thus, than to endanger the existence and prosperity of the whole tribe. Our govenment is not to blame for the great growth and prosperity of our nation, nor for her enterprise and love of progress; but it will be to blame, if it permits the avarice or cupidity of any set of men to produce measures, which shall end in the total degradation and ruin of the red men of America.

The Indians should remain where they are,—should have the full rights of citizenship,—should be protected from the presence and temptations of "fire-water,"—should have inalienable homesteads,—should be surrounded by the whites, to feel the impulse of the energy, of the encircling Saxon spirit,—to see its modes of agricultural action; to have especial access to its sources of intellectual elevation. Such external pressure will always make free men bestir themselves.

Our nation has long acted on the belief, "they seem destined to a slow but sure extinction"—that they could not live near, or with the whites. And repeatedly, when they were just giving the lie to all such theories and forebodings, they have been seized and removed least they might show themselves noble men, and capable of refinement, intelligence, and piety.

Should these Indians refuse, both to remove and sell, the United States, by her treaties is bound, by military force, to preserve their present territory in its full extent, intact from the white man, so long as one representation in each tribe shall remain to demand it. When, then, their right is so clear, their title so firm, let us seek to continue to them so much as they can personally use; and surrounding them with joined hands, seek to make them rise, and prosper, as our country rises higher and higher in honor, wealth, and stability. Their blood beats proudly to-day, in the veins of some of America's noblest sons, and we must not be ashamed of their companionship and friendship.

But can not settlers enter that Territory now? That they can not go into the sections owned by the Indians, who have been localed there by the Government, there can be no doubt. White men, by the treaties, have the right of passing through these districts; but the United States warrants to the Indians that they will remove by force every white man who shall attempt to settle there, otherwise than according to the acts which regulate the intercourse of citizens with the Indians.

In reference, however, to the remainder of the territory, not assigned to particular tribes, the question is totally different. In other portions of the United States the precedent has been, to let settlers enter any lands under the jurisdiction of the U.S., where there were no treaties containing definitive grants to particular tribes. Such has been the case in California, in Utah, in New Mexico, in Minnesota, in Oregon, and in every State in the Union, since Daniel Boone entered the wilds of Kentucky. If the original Indians would tolerate the pioneer, the United States would permit him to go where he pleased, and afterwards would, as the coutry settled, purchase of the Indians, have them surveyed, and then have the occupants take out their regular land patents. In the Territory of Nebraska, the United States have purchased the ground, first of France, then from the Pawnees, Kanzas, and other original tribes. The title is all clear, and rests in the United States. They have, as we have seen, given warrantee deeds or titles to certain portions of this territory, to particular Indian tibes. The remainder evidently belongs to the Government, because, in the various treaties with the Indian tribes, it is especially stipulated by the United States that the grounds not assigned to particular tribes, "shall be a hunting-ground, common to the friendly Indians," "*during the pleasure of the President of the United States!*" Thus the word of the President, can remove from the unassigned part of the Territory the last incumbrance or bar to white settlers; which is but a sufferance of common occupation, for purposes of hunting.

How, without a special act of Congress, can citizens of the United States be excluded from this Territory? Should white settlers occupy those unassigned lands, the law regulating intercourse with the Indians will apply to them, as much as they now do to the inhabitants of Missouri. Are not the individuals composing the United States, the actual owners of the land to which the nation has an unincumbered title?

But what are the absolute facts respecting it? The army threatens the forcible expulsion of any settler on the Territory. Whether the officers deem this the teaching of their general Indian instructions, or have special orders therefor, from the Government, is unknown.

The opinion of but two distinguished men have been made public upon this subject. Col. Benton has just published a letter, in reply to a letter of some gentlemen of Jefferson City, who ask this question. Can we go there to settle now? Col. Benton says any one *now* has an absolute right, to enter and settle in that portion of the Territory which has not been assigned to the Indians. He advises men to go, and asserts that he has closely examined the action of the Government in reference to this Territory, and that there is nothing in the statutes to bar their entrance.

On the other hand Senator Atchison, a man of far less erudition, accuracy, and ability, insists that settlers have no right to enter the Territory, and should be expelled by military force if they attempt it.

Under the circumstances, it seems to me, that it would be unwise for the settlers to enter, before permission is granted by the general Government, as it might embarrass the action of the Administration, in preparing the Territory for occupation, and hinder the healthy growth of the country rather than aid it.

At the same time, I believe it the duty of the President to notify the Indians, that the whites, from henceforth, have a right to settle any where on the common hunting-grounds, and are not to be molested, nor in turn are to molest the Indians. Also to notify white settlers, that the portion of Nebraska which belongs to the United States is open for occupation, and

that as soon as possible, the Indian reservations should be surveyed, portions secured to the Indians, and the remainder purchased by the Government and resold to settlers.

More anon. Yours truly, LYNCEUS.

LETTER VI.

Reasons for Speedy Organization of Nebraska Territory—Protection to Life and Property—Economy in Army Expenses—New Post—New Military Road—Six Routes proposed for Pacific Railroad—Bridger's Pass—Middle Line of Population—Estimate of Time to build the Road.

Saint Louis, July 27th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: *There are many and weighty reasons why Nebraska Territory should be instantly organized.* The too rapid settlement of a country is deleterious to the educational and moral interests of a people; it is well that population should not be too long pent up, and then permitted to burst suddenly upon a new country; it is better that it should be somewhat slowly settled, and that the foundations of society should become fixed and sobered, in order that the superstructure may be solid and beautiful. Already has the tide in that direction been held back too long; it is rising higher and higher, and the more impetuous will be the flood, the longer it is restrained.

The United States should furnish *protection for the property and lives of her citizens*, within her own borders. There is yearly an immense immigration from the older States to those on the Pacific Ocean. This immigration passes through Nebraska Territory, some years amounting to more than 80,000 persons. Once beyond the Missouri river, they can obtain no provisions, shelter, nor care in sickness, until they reach the Salt Lake, a distance of 1,200 miles. If this country was once thrown open, the route would be immediately settled to the Salt Lake; thus affording ample protection against the recurrence of the scenes of 1850, and saving thousands from the most distressing deaths, from exposure and starvation.

The Government should advance, and not retard the prosperity of the people. Were this Territory organized, not only would the emigrant receive protection and benefit from the settlers, but the settlers would receive a liberal reward for their services; and the journey being stripped of more than half its dangers, the immigration would far more than be doubled.

Economy in the support of the Army requires it.—At the last session of Congress, an appropriation of $60,000 was made for the building of a new post in the Territory; a post capable of accommodating about 1,000 officers and soldiers. This new post is situated 140 miles west of Fort Leavenworth, among the branches of the Kanzas. [See map.] As it is built to a great extent by the labor of soldiers; and as all the materials belong to the government, the appropriation is considered as equivalent to about $150,000 worth of buildings, and will probably be the best and most commodious post in the United States.

$11,000 were also appropriated for the new military road from Fort Leavenworth to the new post. The building of this road and post is being pressed with the utmost energy, and the post is expected to be in order to receive a part of the garrison this coming fall. Now all the grain and provisions for the army, unless raised in the Territory, must be brought from Missouri to Leavenworth, and from Leavenworth to the new post.

The opening of Nebraska would instantly line this new road, and a section around the new post, with good industrious farmers, and every mile of transportation which can be saved upon such vast quantities of domestic supplies, will be a great saving in our army expenses.

It will especially facilitate the building of the great Pacific Railway.

The fact that a railway is to be built connecting the Atlantic and Pacific States, is not a matter of question; the only inquiry now agitated is, Where shall the line run?

As might be expected, there are extremes to this question as well as every other. One route proposed is in a region of almost perpetual snow; another one from New Orleans, or a point on the Gulf of Mexico, located where four months in the year yellow fever is rampant against life, especially the life of men of colder climates; and where the miasmatic malarias forbid men out after sundown. Another route is proposed from council Bluffs through the South Pass. Another from Memphis to Santa Fe, and thence to San Francisco. Another from St. Joseph, by the South Pass. Another from Kanzas, through Fremont's undiscovered pass, and New Mexico. Thus there are *six roads* proposed, three north and three south. Or *three* that go by the South Pass, and *three* that go by New Mexico. Now the extreme north and south routes are so impracticable on account of the poverty of the countries through which they pass, a poverty not only of inhabitants but even of fertility; they are so far removed from the places and the lines which demand the erection of the road, that it is useless to talk of them as routes for a national road. They are but local, sectional enterprises, begging for the national adoption.

San Francisco is in Lat. N. 38 deg. The South Pass is 42deg. 20min. N.L. Santa Fe is 35deg. N.L. So that the difference berween the two points is about 375 miles. The Salt Lake City is in Lat. N. 40deg. 15m. and is the great resting-place on the journey to California and Oregon. If the railroad shall run through the South Pass, as it bends south again towards California, it will run through the capital of Utah; but this route through the South Pass bends far north of the line of 38deg. N.L.; Bridger's Pass is about 40 deg.; Leavenworth, 39deg. 30min. [See map.]

There has been, within the past year, published by authority of Congress, a report of Captain Stansbury, U. S. Engineer, deputed to survey the Great Salt Lake Basin, in which he describes a new pass through the Rocky Mountains, through which he returned with his party. This pass is upon the *direct line* from Fort Leavenworth to San Francisco. The pass is called "Bridger's Pass." This line would run through the most fertile, level, and beautiful country, that exists between the Western States and California.

The Memphis road lies too far south, and the Council Bluffs road too far north. In this great question, as the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico furnish to the country, within 500 miles of them, great facilities to dispose of their productions, and to reap the advantages of commerce; therefore, if any portion of the country should have the benefit of the road, it should be that remote from the sea-board, where the difficulties of disposing of produce are great, as regards expense of transportation, time, and danger. The older States have already supplied themselves with railroads, to such an extent, that this has been in a measure overcome; but the growth of the north-western part of our country is so rapid and tremendous, that it must have *new* outlets for its products. Produce now passes by dangerous navigation, 2,000 miles, to reach the Atlantic, or the Gulf of Mexico; while, were the railroad built, fairly where it belongs, in a central position,

they could by the same distance reach the Pacific Ocean. All the importations from China, California, and the East Indies, of which they make use, make circuits of from 5 to 20 thousand miles to reach them, when by the Pacific railroad, they could come in from 2 to 8 thousand miles.

Now, the *true line for the road* is that which will *give accommodation* to the *greatest number* of citizens, and *facilitate* the purposes of *commerce* for the *greatest amount* of *territory* and *productions*.

Let us divide the United States into three portions, as follows: Let Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, constitute the North.

Let New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, constitute the Middle. [See map.]

Let Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the District of Columbia, the South, and we arrive at the following total result,—that there are in the

North, . . .	6,734,215
Middle, . . .	7,146,515
	13,880,730
South, . . .	6,752,061

free persons.

Now, we can only count *free* persons, when we talk of a railroad, as a means of travel. Slaves have no use for the cars; railroads, having free termini are bad things for black countries. The slaves are needed at home on the plantations, and we must leave them out of the calculation of passengers needing a road.

From this view, there are two persons in the North to one in the South, who would have occasion to travel on the road, and who are personally interested in it; and we see that, were the line from the Atlantic to the Pacific to divide the people of the United States into two equal parts, it should run through the center of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and cross Missouri, north of the Missouri river.

But *this is not the exact state of the case*, as it in reality exists. A tabular view of the increase of free population shows to us, that what we have denominated in our division as the North has *outstripped* the South, in population. Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, are yet but infants among the sisterhood of States; but are destined, every year, to become more populous and important. The Middle also of the Union is growing faster than the South, so that the line is every *hour* being *drawn* to the north of the center of Pennsylvania.

Decade.	North.	Middle.	South.
1800	385,565	231,914	478,276
1810	600,151	461,853	524,365
1820	595,581	825,741	822,343
1830	863,331	1,068,000	616,130
1840	1,045,077	1,915,667	796,135
1850	1,784,148	2,061,380	1,362,931
	5,273,853	6,570,562	4,600,180

The above table shows the increase of free population, in each decade immediately preceding the year written. That the line we have in-

dicated, or one north of it, is the great railroad district of the United States, is evident from the chains of road which are running parallel from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. There is a line which starts from Boston, runs through Albany, crosses Niagara Falls; on Jan. 16th, 1864, to be finished to Detroit; from Detroit, it now runs through Michigan, Northern Indiana, Chicago, Aurora, Galesburgh, Quincy; crossing the Mississippi, it unites with the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, which is to be finished to Nebraska, in 1855. A branch from Galesburgh will also cross the Mississippi at Burlington, to unite with the Southern Iowa Railroad, to the Missouri river. Another road starts from New York city, passes through Dunkirk, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago, Lasalle, Rock Island, to cross the Mississippi at Davenport, and connect with the Iowa Central Railroad, from Davenport to Council Bluffs. [See map.]

From Chicago, connecting with the two roads already mentioned, another runs to Rockford and Galena, and crosses the Mississippi at Dubuque, to join the Iowa Northern Railroad. A splendid road is being run, from St. Louis to Cleveland direct; from Cleveland to Columbus, one is in operation. From Columbus, one is building to Indianopolis; from there, to Springfield; from there, one is completed to Alton, to connect with the Missouri River Railroad. There is also a road from Springfield to Quincy, to meet the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad.

From Baltimore and Philadelphia, roads run to Pittsburgh, to Columbus, to Cincinnati From Cincinnati, one is building to St. Louis; and from St. Louis, 50 miles are finished on the line to Kanzas. The first road that will reach the Missouri river will be the Hannibal and St. Joseph road. It is the shortest in miles, the most even in grade, the most fertile in soil, and the one which, considering its eastern connections, will probably pay the best. I have no fear for this city, but that she will grow to be equal to any inland city in the nation, in size and wealth, but we may not get the road after all. The North and Middle of the Union can not be made to go down to Tennessee, to ride or send freight, to California; and, perhaps, we may not get it even here. Let it go where right demands it should go. It can not go so far north but that, by our North Western roads, we can turn down to us all that will properly belong to us, and can send west all we desire.

Fort Leavenworth lies just upon the Great Railroad line, through the Middle States. If the Government would make Leavenworth the eastern terminus of the road, and run it due west, on the beautiful divide between the waters of the Kanzas and Platte, which stretches west for 500 miles, with the greatest evenness and beauty; thence through Bridger's Pass to the Salt Lake, then to San Francisco, or the borders of California—were Leavenworth the terminus, it could cross the Missouri, to unite with the projected road, on the north side of the Missouri river through the river counties.

Fort Leavenworth is situated, to a mile, just half way between Kanzas and St. Joseph—the termini of the two roads, which will first reach the Nebraska Territory. Roads could be run, from each of these points to a place some fifty miles back from Leavenworth; here would spring up a large city, and these roads could have an *equal chance* for the business of the main road. Let the roads, from the west side of Arkansas and the one from Council Bluffs, then, be run so as to meet the trunk, 250 or 300 miles west of Leavenworth; and here let another large city spring up, and give the North and the South an equal chance at the business. This plan also would develope Nebraska to the greatest possible extent, and

would instantly produce a heavy *way-travel*, on these roads. This road can be built cheaper and better than any other. It is from one to two hundred miles shorter than either of the other routes, and lies through a more beautiful and fertile country than any other; and what if it does cost more! A road built where it is *needed*, is in reality cheaper, than one built at less expense where it will not be used as much.

Two bids have been offered to Congress, to build the road from the Missouri to San Francisco in *five years*, giving penal bonds for its completion at the specified time. We argue, that Nebraska should be speedily admitted, to facilitate this work. Let us briefly make a calculation, showing with what rapidity this work must be pushed forward, in order to accomplish it, according to the contracts. It must be built in this rapid manner, for the amount invested can not be permitted to lie idle, and the only thing, which should limit the number of hands and the pressing of the work, should be that the capacity of the road to bring materials was fully exhausted.

In each year are 365 days; deduct 65 days for Sabbaths and hollidays, and 300 remain. For storms, winter, sickness, perhaps a sickly season, deduct 100, and 200 remain; and that is a large average for each of the five years. In five years, there will be 1000 working days; and there are from 1800 to 2000 miles of road to be built, i. e., two miles must be commenced and finished each day, between sunrise and sunset. But when we remember some of this road is to be bridged, miles of it to be tunnelled, and all the timber and iron to be carried over the road itself, as fast as it is built, as well as the carrying of fuel to the various engine stations, and food for the workmen, and animals; we can see that, at the eastern end—at Leavenworth—on those level and beautiful prairies—it must be built with vastly greater rapidity, than at a thousand miles further west. So, that when it starts from the Missouri river, it must proceed with a movement equal to more than five miles of completed road every day the hands work.

The country knows nothing of the cost of transportation, on the western plains. It costs the United States' Government, as high as 12 cents per pound to carry white beans, or flour to the army in New Mexico.—Labor is high, animals are high, the country is wild, and such services cost money. Now, for two or three hundred miles ahead of the finished railroad, must all food, and utensils, and timbers, and iron, and the very corn for the horses, be carried by teams, unless the settlement of the Territory is granted immediately. Now, the whole nation has a deep interest in the building of this road, and in its *immediate construction*. The body politic, if it is located through *its center*, must feel the stimulus to its remotest corner. California needs, and demands the road, while its opening would equalize, to a great extent, the prices of merchandize, mining itself could be conducted at so much less expense, that more persons would engage in it, and the amount of actual gold would be greatly increased. The legitimate commerce, which would follow from being connected with the center of the Union, would ten times counterbalance the depreciation of fictitious prices of real estate and property. The trade of China, Japan, and the East Indies, which would pass across our continent, would naturally seek our own ships, and our marine influence, both upon the Atlantic and Pacific, would be greatly increased. The settlement and stocking of Oregon and California would go forward with surprising strides. This year, the population of the United States will increase 758,505; in 1854, 781,260; so that every two years, we can furnish nearly a million to open and possess these countries, and yet gain half a million at home!

We have seen the position, occupied by the population east of Nebraska Territory. Let us, for a little, examine the country west of it. While Texas is on the south, there is a fine territorial country to counterbalance it, on the north of Nebraska, and adjoining Minnesota. Going further west, we come to New Mexico on the south; north of this lies the Territory of Utah, whose north boundary is the line of 42deg. N. L.,—the line we ask for Nebraska. North of Utah, to balance off New Mexico, lies the vast fertile basin of the Yellow Stone. Next west, comes California; North California, west of Utah; South California, west of New Mexico; and Oregon, west of the Yellow Stone Territory. Now, the lines of territory, and population, and equitable location, demand that this road shall not go through New Mexico, but through Utah.

Any intelligent man, who will sit down and take his map, and study the increase of population, and the directions in which energy and enterprise are flowing, will find that, in less than ten years, there will be a population, north of Bridger's Pass, equal to *three times* that below it.

The facts at present are these. New Mexico has a population of some 60,000 persons,—Indians, Half-Breeds, Spaniards, and Americans. The Territory north of Utah is full of original American Indians, amounting to probably 40,000, who are as well qualified for citizenship, as three-fourths of the New Mexicans. Between these two countries lies Utah, whose north boundary, (42deg.) runs through the South Pass, and which also has within its *center*, *Bridger's Pass*. This country has a population of some 25,000, almost all from the United States, working people, having among them fine mechanics and artists. When we come to the westernmost tier, we reach the State of California. Here, the great bulk of the population lies in the north—the gold region—lying entirely to the north of San Francisco. The southern part is less desirable, is thinly peopled. The dividing line between California and Oregon is the line of 42deg, N. L.,—the same with Utah and Nebraska. Oregon is rapidly settling, and already must have a population of from 50.000 to 60,000. Where, then, *ought* the Pacific Railroad to run, as regards the future west? Yes, even the *present west* of our country.

More anon.

Yours truly,

LYNCEUS.

LETTER VII.

Shall the Pacific Road start from Kanzas?—Benton's Route one-sided—Should have a way-travel of its own—How shall Nebraska be admitted?—Missouri Compromise—Its Nature, Violation—Platte Purchase—Size—Character—Slaves—The Missouri Compromise intended as eternal—Is the Platte Purchase Slave, or Free-Soil?

Saint Louis, Aug. 10th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: *Ought the Pacific Railroad to start from the mouth of the Kanzas?* as Col. Benton urges—a point lower than the whole States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where it has little population for 400 miles south-east of it, and no country to support it; to run for a while hugging the Kanzas valley, to keep off the divide between the Kanzas and the Arkansas, which is not more than half as fertile as that between the Kansas and the Platte; thence, to bear south-west until you reach the latitude of Memphis,—a latitude of the south which enjoys the fullest blessing of the

vicinage of the Gulf of Mexico; thence, to bear through Southern California to San Francisco.

The advocacy of this route, by Col. Benton, is a strange and unlooked-for event, with many thinking men. We all know the determination of some men to carry out, in spite of argument and persuasion, their own first preconceived notion, however unwise. We know the vast influence, which local attachments and feelings exercise over our efforts and plans. We know how stronglymen work to purchase the good will of others, or to allay the anger of the provoked, or overcome the hatred of enemies. We know also how partial men are to their own, whether human or material, and how all-powerful self is in all things.

The course of Col. Benton is so away from advocating a bold *national* policy and location, that the causes for his course have been closely questioned, and the opinion is gaining extensive ground, and from many points is finding utterance, that Col. Benton is acting a part not *national*, but personally duplex,—a half way compromise, seeking by it for the favor of the south, and the forbearance of the north. To start it in free Territory, and let it run so far south, that it shall benefit almost only the slave States. To win for himself the credit and glory of being the great mover and father of this particular compromise of routes. Col. Fremont's influence is waning with the American people. Col. Benton has always been associated with him, and shared his honors. And now, Mr. Benton would fain magnify Fremont, and through him, himself, by running the road through Fremont's attempted pass.

Col. Fremont, also, has large landed estates in California, which, so far as public information goes, are situated south-east of San Francisco, so that the new route will pass near, or directly through them.

Well may we believe, that were there in Congress a man of Col. Benton's *abilities* and *personal influence*, with a *son-in law* in the same body, with the same *individual* inducements for action, in this matter, that *he* could put forth, a far clearer, stronger, more truthful, and more *national* appeal and argument for the road, either through Bridgers' Pass, or the South Pass, than Col. Benton either *has*, or *can*, for the New Mexican road.

The route recommended by Col. Benton, is a one-sided affair. It runs to the center of our newest acquisitions, leaving Oregon without the least hope of connection with the United States; *neglecting Utah, slighting Nebraska*, and bearing away 1,500 *miles* from the central portions of the *Missouri* and *Yellow Stone Territories*,—a policy to have this road built by *national* expense,—presently to have an application to Congress, to build a branch of three or four hundred miles, to the western side of Arkansas. The whole south, then, to take stock in a road, from Memphis across Arkansas, that State being *too poor* to build, or to support it. Thus, the south would have two termini,—St. Louis and Memphis,—and every thing that went *north*, or came from California, would be obliged to go from or come to those cities, almost *at right angles*, instead of coming to the north from the west direct, as they ought, since she is the builder and actual supporter of the road.

It does seem evident that the road ought to start from Fort Leavenworth. Fort Leavenworth has been a government establishment for some 30 years, and is the great central depot for supplying all the United States' forts, in the west, with provisions, ammunition, and men. It holds constant communication with Fort Kearney, Laramie, Hall, Atkinson, and Gibson, and also with the Salt Lake and Santa Fe. It is on the west side

of the Missouri river, in the Nebraska Territory, 30 miles above the mouth of the Kanzas, and 32 miles below St. Joseph. There is the finest levee on the whole Missouri river. It is a beautiful site for a large and magnificent city. The Missouri river boats could bring iron, and timber, and tools, from St. Louis, and the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad can keep two steamers busy, dropping down with loads, from St. Joseph to Fort Leavenworth. The Government own there nine square miles, upon which to store iron, or timber, as it may be received. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been already invested there, and as the troops shall be drawn off to the new post, the large iron and wood shops, already there, and the buildings which would be vacated, could furnish shops for the accommodation of more than a thousand workers in iron and wood, who could frame buildings, tanks, bridges, &c., and send them on to the workmen a thousand miles west.

This route will not, as does Col. Benton's, run through a narrow bottom land, thus defeating the settlement of broad prairie lands. But it so runs, that, commencing in the prairie, men will put up temporary wire fences, and start their hedges immediately, and overcome the want of timber by the application of science to its production.

The railroad should run so that it shall have a heavy way-travel of its own, through a country capable of dense settlement. It should run so that branches can pass off in each direction, to accommodate the whole territory of our country.

This is the true theory. Settle the first road in the *center*, and let branches, at nearly right angles, go off to different districts. At the ends of these branches, wealth, influence, and population, will culminate, and, in time, these points will desire roads to connect *them*; and thus will arise other *parallel roads*, running across this country to the Pacific.

This road, having received the Council Bluffs' and Memphis' branches, should pass on some two hundred miles, when a branch should turn directly *north*, into the basin of the Yellow Stone. In that country, is a climate unsurpassed for evenness of temperature, purity of air, and general healthfulness, by any country in the world; while its richness and great beauty will make it the choice of the whole western half of the Republic. Passing through the Rocky mountains, a road should turn directly *south* to Santa Fe. Two hundred miles beyond the Salt Lake, a branch should turn directly *north-west* into Oregon; while the road should either pass through the north of the Sierra Nevada mountains, or around them, to San Francisco on the south-west.

In closing this subject, I would again refer to the portion of Nebraska between the Platte and Kanzas, commencing at Fort Leavenworth.—When we leave the Allegany mountains, and descend into Ohio, we strike a most fertile strip of country, embracing the Miami valley. It crosses the center of the State of Indiana, containing the Shawnee Prairie. In Illinois, it takes the center of the State, embracing Sangamon county, and a hundred miles of country north, and the whole of the Great Prairie. This strip has, in the same latitude, a corresponding strip west of the Mississippi river. That strip embraces *all Missouri north* of the river, and a strip across southern Iowa. Beyond the Missouri river, this same fertile belt continues, lying between the Platte and Kanzas, and extending to their head-waters, gradually, however, after 300 miles, becoming inferior as it approaches the Rocky mountains. This natural *strip* of rich fertile soil is indicative by *nature*, as *the* line, and *the only* proper line, for the *Great* Railway to the Pacific.

But how shall this Nebraska be admitted, as regards Slavery within her limits?

Perhaps you instantly reply, "There is no need to ask that question! The matter is settled already, by the Missouri Compromise!" Is it, indeed? It were truly a happy thing, if it were thus settled. But what said the Missouri Compromise?

"SEC. 8. And be it further enacted, that in all that territory, ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies *north* of 36deg. 30m. north latitude, *not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude*, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted *shall be and hereby is forever prohibited.*

"Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person, claiming his or her labor, or service, as aforesaid."

"Approved, March 6th, 1820."

Well, is not Nebraska, as we have defined its bounds, a part of that Territory, ceded by France under the name of Louisiana? Is it not north of 36deg. 30m., N. L.? Is it not without the limits of the State of Missouri? We answer, Yes, to all these inquiries? Why, then, when the enactment is so plain, and Nebraska is so evidently the country described in the act, why do we need any thing further? I answer, because it is a question, (worth the thought of every American,) whether the Missouri Compromise *means any thing*; and, if it does, it is again a question, whether it can be *preserved* from the violation of lawless and wicked men; and the question comes up, whether the State of Missouri has not vitiated her constitution, by her action in reference to this subject.

This whole subject will readily be understood, when we remark, that the boundary of Missouri, when she was admitted to the Union—the boundary *contemplated* when the Missouri Compromise was passed,—was a *straight line* from the south-west corner of the State, running through the mouth of the Kanzas, and extending north to the present line between Iowa and Missouri. The Missouri river, bearing from the Kanzas to the west of north, left a strip of land on the east of Missouri river; and between said river and the western boundary of the State, it is 104 miles, from north to south; and, at the northern end, 60 miles wide, at the south, it came to a point. This large triangle is now divided into the six following counties, and is a part of the State of Missouri.

COUNTIES.	Free.	Slave.	Total.
Atchison, -	1,648	30	1,678
Nodaway, -	2,048	70	2,118
Holt, -	3,828	127	3,955
Andrew, -	8,773	661	9,434
Buchannan, -	12,074	902	12,976
Platte, -	14,131	2,798	16,929
	42,502	4,588	47,090

From this table, it will be seen that, in 1850, there were living on the Platte Purchase, 47,090 inhabitants; of these 4,588 were slaves. Since 1850, the population has increased, and the number of slaves now must be as many as 5,000. How comes it that there is *a single* slave there?—that an inch of that territory has been polluted? Are these 4,588 men

really slaves, or are they free men illegally held to service? How comes all this? What means it all? Was, or was not, that triangle a portion of Nebraska? Does it, to day, *belong* to Nebraska, or Missouri? Is it, to-day, slave or free territory? Let us closely examine this matter.

Before the admission of Missouri, there had arisen a fierce altercation between the north and south, because free blacks of the north, whatever their character or business, were imprisoned on entering the slave States. The dissatisfaction ran high, and the north declared, that if citizens of the United States were to be shut out of slave States, or imprisoned within them, that no more slave territory should be admitted to the Union. Slavery had been, by authority, *forever* abolished in the Territory, north of the Ohio river, and east of the Mississippi; but nothing had been done concerning the country west of the Mississippi. The State of Louisiana had been erected as a slave State; the Territories of Arkansas and Missouri had started in the same manner. Missouri applied for admission as a State at this particular crisis. Strong and continued opposition arose, and it was determined that she should come in free, or not at all. The dissolution of the Union was threatened by the south, and was not an unwelcome thought to the north. The great men, however, stood firm, and the people followed them. Henry Clay prepared and submitted the Missouri Compromise, as it is generally called. That Compromise gives the State of Missouri the privilege of erecting a State government, &c., &c.; but upon this condition, that *all the remainder* of the old Louisiana Territory, above 36 deg. 30m., should never have a slave upon it. It also added a restriction to the Constitution of the State, when it should be formed, which was, that any citizen of the United States, recognized as a citizen in any State, was free to come and go through Missouri, as he might please, without hindrance, indignity, or imprisonment.

The Compromise was simply this: The nation had risen, and declared there shall be no more slave States in the Union. Henry Clay came forward, and in reality said, "The people of Missouri are already there, and they own slaves, and they wish it to be a slave State. Grant them their wish, but compel them to admit citizens of other States, whatever their opinions or color. Give to them and to the south this one piece of the Louisiana Territory for slavery, and we ask no more; we will *agree* that forever in the future, the remainder of it shall be free. Let us take a large State, almost 300 miles square, and jut it up into free territory, and *north* and *west* of it, we will not ask for more."

Such was the nature of the Missouri Compromise. The consideration in the bargain was the preservation of the Union. The relinquishment, on the part of the north, was the State of Missouri, devoted to slavery and the south. The relinquishment, on the part of the south, was the dedication of all the remainder of Old Louisiana Territory to eternal freedom. And this bargain, FOREVER, implied, that the north, through the medium of Congress, would not disturb the institution of slavery in Missouri; and the declaration of the enactment, not only implied, but it avowed, on the part of the *south* as well as north, that they would forever prevent its violation, nor permit a single slave to be held in all that Territory. I say, the *south*, with the north, pledged themselves *forever*, to prevent it, and a prohibition of the United States is a preventive, if wickedness does not come in to nullify it.

How, then, came slavery to exist in the Great Triangle above described?

When Missouri was first admitted, this land remained in the possession of the Indians and half-breeds. After Missouri had been in the Union 16

years, seeing how much it would add to the wealth, power, and commerce of the State, to possess the right of one-half of the Missouri river, from Kanzas up to the line between Iowa and Missouri, the State of Missouri made application to Congress to add this triangle to her territory.

A double question presents itself here. Had Congress a right to increase the territory of Missouri, *under the circumstances*. The Missouri Compromise described the land particularly, and made special provision for the settlement of the north line, and for the division of the islands in the Mississippi river. But no one, in that day, *asked, hoped, or expected*, that the territory of Missouri *could* ever be enlarged. Thus, was the State admitted into the Union on certain conditions, which conditions were to continue *forever*. How could that State be enlarged, without violating the principles upon which it was admitted? The enlargement not only violated the act itself, but also the proviso respecting fugitives. From the circumstances under which Missouri was admitted, it does seem to me, that the addition of the Platte Purchase was beyond the actual province of the power of Congress, and it is, therefore, of *right*, a portion of Nebraska Territory still.

But passing that point, let us ask, Is this triangle, when added to Missouri, free or slave territory? That there are slaves there, and that it is now an ally of slave interests, are indisputable facts. But the question is, Did the addition of this triangle to Missouri change its free character? Can one casual act of Congress, couched in general terms, control and take precedence of an especial enactment, drawn with the most stringent precision? Can the careless and hasty action of Congress undo that which was established with the deepest thought and anxiety, and declared *irrevocable?* While an absolute, specific enactment is in force, does it not modify, in that particular respect which it regards, any general act, which does not directly or indirectly indicate its abrogation? But, can Congress pass *any* act that shall be *perpetual?* Men, in this world, make bequests, endowments, and deeds, which are never to be changed—which express the will of the donor, or conveyer. There are times in government, when the same stable kind of action is desirable, when great principles are to be established, and deeds performed which will forever result in good. Circumstances change; opinions alter; and this is so common, in a world where the future is all hidden, that it is a rare thing, that such language as that of the Missouri Compromise is introduced. In our Indian treaties, in reference to land titles, the same construction of language is used. A time came in the affairs of our country, when every thing demanded, that a permanent, enduring enactment should be passed, and it was done. What was that enactment? That Missouri, with certain boundaries, should be admitted as a slave State. Mark it well! Government did not promise to add territory to that State, nor to maintain the supremacy of slavery there. No; it only said to Missouri, "You may brand the curse upon your own forehead, and we will yet receive you to the Union; but west and north of you, there shall *forever* be no slavery." Can the United States make a permanent enactment? Is its word good for even 20 years? I do not know or remember any United States' enactment, except this, which was designed to be a perpetual statute, beyond the possibility of change. And yet, this has been trampled upon, in the grossest manner. Is our government desirable? Is it any blessing to live under it? If it is, why not maintain its integrity? Why make it a liar, in the one thing of all others, in which it has given out its word, and declared it will not recall it? Shame to the south, burning and eter-

nal shame, that, for a few acres of ground,—for a slight advantage,—they should quietly and stealthily attempt to violate the Missouri Compromise, —a compromise *framed* by themselves, and *passed* for themselves, and that for their own benefit! Oh, false and traitorous north, that could join hands to sell the liberties of men, and extend the reign of sorrow and injustice, to disgrace the honor of your nation, and make her promises a jest!

More anon. Yours truly.

LYNCEUS.

LETTER VIII.

Is the Platte Purchase free or slave?—Origin of Platte Addition—Missouri Compromise and Platte Purchase Act compared—Position of Platte Purchase Slaves legally—Necessity for Wilmot Proviso—Nebraska free—Influence upon Missouri—Nebraska slave influence on Missouri—Nebraska certainly free—Insecurity of carrying Negroes there.

Saint Louis, Aug. 24th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: One of two things is true, either this is slave Territory, in its absolute sense, and the second act of Congress supercedes the Missouri Compromise, or it is free to-day.

Now in legal enactments, when any new statute is erected, an exception, or provision, is commonly made respecting other previous enactments, which may have any bearing or the case, and where nothing is said regarding it, the new act comes under the restriction of previous acts, rather than overrules them. Congress is authorized to pass laws, not conflicting with the constitution of the United States. Other Legislatures are permitted to pass laws, not contrary to the constitutions of their respective States, or of the United States. Each State, and the United States, in their statutes, always read that this statute shall in no manner be construed so as to conflict with other previous statutes, specifically named, or just the contrary—after a certain date this statute shall take full & immediate effect, all other existing enactments, or statutes, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Now the act, adding the Platte purchase, was originated either in extreme folly, or excessive subtlety. It does not define what effect was to be produced on the triangular addition, as regarded slavery. It does not tell what authority Missouri was to exercise, whether only the rights of *common law*, such as her *free citizens enjoyed*, who did not hold slaves, or whether it enforced the *special enactments of a slave State*, which were granted by the Missouri Compromise.

It is probable that subtlety, was the cause of this ambiguity. The country was in 1836 little known. The Missouri Cromprimise had lost some interest, in the changing scenes of political warfare, and the bill was introduced, as a careless request, to add a small piece of ground to Missouri, and it probably passed, because it had not sufficient point, and distinctness, to challenge investigation, or opposition. It was, I think, the design to have it pass without opposition, in this ambiguous form, and then throw it open to the slaveholding masses, assuming they had the right to enter it, (which they had not,) and let them roll in, and locate the curse there; well knowing it takes a pound to cure what an ounce could have prevented. But let us see this curious document—it speaks for itself:

"June 7th, 1836.—Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That when the Indian title to all the lands lying between the State of Missouri

and the Missouri River, shall be extinguished, the jurisdiction over said lands shall be hereby ceded to the State of Missouri, and the western boundary of said State shall be then extended to the Missouri river, reserving to the United States the original right of soil in said lands, and of disposing of the same: Provided that this act shall not take effect until the President shall by proclamation declare that the Indian title to said lands has been extinguished, nor shall it take effect, until the state of Missouri, shall have assented to the provisions of this act."

Such is its language. The only two words, upon which the point can at all turn, are *jurisdiction and boundary*. The jurisdiction of this country had been in the United States, and was as in the whole Indian country, military instead of civil. The various meanings of the word, will permit us to place various interpretations upon the statute, *not one* of them however, necessitates the absolute right, for Missouri to plant slavery there. Knowing the Missouri Compromise to be in full force, it could be more properly construed, that the statute grants such authority only, over this new addition, as *free States exercise over their own Territory*.

"The Western boundary shall then be extended to the Missouri river." This seems to me to gain nothing for slavery. Missouri asked for a free territory—free *forever*, by solemn agreement of the Union; and Congress gave it to them without at all removing the restriction, and it passed into Missouri's private hands *with this public, national mortgage for freedom for ever resting on it.*

I believe the Platte Purchase free territory, and a part of Nebraska; that so long as the Missouri Compromise stands on the statute, it takes precedence, and entire control, of any other or even an opposite enactment; that when the United States have made a solemn contract, and millions have acted in good faith in it, for sixteen years, and *one* party have reaped *all* the benefits, and the other party *none*, it is impossible, with truth, equity, or justice, for the United States to annul that compact. The part *free forever*, was as much a part of the agreement, as was the erection of Missouri into a slave State. But when the United States declares a thing shall be forever prohibited, and designs to have that prohibition an *immutable eternal statute*, that act must be absolutely repealed, (is not that an impossibility?) or it stands in full strength forever; and violations of it, however they may seek refuge under ambiguous enactments, should be with rigor sought out, exposed, and punished.

From the above we insist, that there are now held in an illegal manner, 4,588 slaves; persons who did not *escape* there, but were brought there voluntarily by their masters, persons doomed to "involuntary servitude," not "for crimes whereof they have been lawfully convicted," save it be that so admirably described by Cowper, "He finds his brother *guilty* of a skin not colored like his own; and having power to enforce the wrong, for such a *worthy cause*, dooms him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat," &c.

If these 4,588 slaves could bring suit in a court of justice for freedom and services, while they have been on the Platte Purchase, and it should be appealed to the United States' Supreme Court,—for the question would ultimately come there,—the decision would be in favor of the slaves.—The Missouri Compromise makes every slave carried into the Platte Purchase a free man. And no man, having them there, can carry them away, for they are free.

Let us now return to the inquiry, How shall Nebraska be admitted?

Let Justice write the Wilmot Proviso—no, the Missouri Compromise,

—upon her fair brow. After our examination of the history of the Platte Purchase, all can understand the manner in which the Missouri Compromise has been treated. It has been violated! Slaves are, to-day, held in involuntary servitude, on thousands of miles, where our nation has declared there should forever be no slave. If that solemn compact has been violated in one part, it will be violated in another, if an opportunity shall in any wise be granted. Let the nation throw out her banner, and tell all men what she has before told them, that Nebraska is free, and that there slavery shall find no hold for the sole of her foot, for even a single hour. It becomes the nation to bestir itself. There is no doubt but that, in a few years, this question will rectify itself in Nebraska, whatever Congress, or the nation, may do. But Congress owes it to the nation. the nation owes it to herself, to pass, in connection with the opening of the Territory, the 8th section of the act, authorizing the people of Missouri to form a State government. We have already quoted it, and it is the Missouri Compromise. This is due to the north and south; it will peacefully facilitate what will come after, perhaps ten years of fierce bickerings and internal wars, over this unhappy question. It will immediately permit the full settlement of the line, from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, instead of keeping settlers away by the idea that it is a State distracted in its social relations. No southerner will then suffer the vexation, disappointment, and loss of a stay of one to five years in a new country, which he must, then, perchance leave, without taking his negroes with him. or remain there to do with his own hands the labor he brought them along to perform. This is the only true way,—the only honest or honorable way,—to dispose of it.

But where will the settlers come from? Arkansas is calling for settlers slave settlers. Texas, in danger of being divided, and [illegible] a new free State, is calling and imploring slave-owning and slavery-[illegible] men, to come there and settle. New Mexico, whose character is soon [illegible] be decided by a popular vote is trembling, as she anticipates the question, and begs for slaveholders to come to her. Utah, also, to have the question settled by popular vote, is calling, and calling *in vain* for slaveholders, and had but 30 *slaves*, and 15,000 inhabitants. These are *called* slave countries, and there slaveholders, as far as they *dare*, are going to settle. While this is so, Missouri, bent beneath her little load of slavery, has been toiling on for 60 years, to get her present position. In one-third of that time, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have grown up, and outstripped Missouri. They have a large population to keep at home, but their increasing surplus is seeking new homes further west, and Nebraska is the point which fixes their gaze. There are vast numbers of men, who are intending to go there, the first moment the Territory is opened for entrance. In two counties in Ohio, there are 3,000 persons in one company, who intend to go as a colony for freedom, and little bands exist every where in those States, who will go together. Hundreds of men have been sent out to see that country, in order to carry back reports of the good land. It is also calculated that, at least 50,000 persons will enter Nebraska in eighteen months from Missouri alone, and that population will be free. The slave-owners of Missouri own farms and houses of such value that, in the temporary and pressed sale of lands, by persons leaving, they can not afford to sell; and they will not dare to make a change, that promises only loss and disappointment.

But let us suppose that the south, trampling upon liberty, and the north, betraying freedom, should again violate the Missouri Compromise, and

should declare that when it should come into the Union, it should be slave or free, as the popular vote might declare. Such an arrangement would perhaps take 5,000 slaves from Missouri, and 1,000 from other slave States. And what is the result of this?

It weakens slavery in Missouri, where it is now *insecure*. Every slave, removed from Missouri, reduces the proportion of slaves to the free; for there is no slave immigration into Missouri to replace them, while the places of the free who leave will, in a few months, be entirely filled from the east. This would hasten the freedom of Missouri. A few slaves in Nebraska, and a divided sentiment on the subject, and decided opposition to the institution, would not strengthen it at all in Missouri. The very fact that, in Nebraska, a war was going on, which would end in the total expulsion of slavery from its borders, would keep the State of Missouri in the most constant alarm. And, when the catastrophe should actually come, and Nebraska assert her freedom, then would the blow come upon Missouri with tenfold the effect, that would follow the settlement of Nebraska upon free principles; for there would then be an adjoining State, where slavery had been defeated; and a precedent would be given for the action of her own masses, and an undying enthusiasm awakened in them to do likewise. Settle Nebraska free, under the Missouri Compromise, and she will look with pity upon Missouri, groaning and laboring under her curse; but attempt to chain slavery upon her, and when once she has broken the fetter from her pure neck, she will burn with hatred toward the oppressor, who attempted to despoil her of her riches and glory.

But, for the sake of argument, let us assume, that many slaves should roll in from Missouri and the south, and it should become a slave State. That, even could not hinder the progress of freedom in Missouri, and we have the spectacle of a new State, standing again surrounded with three free States or Territories, and scarcely touching a slave State. That would be a worse position than Missouri. Surely, if a man is a *fool* to go at this late hour into Missouri with his negroes, he is a *madman* to go with them into Nebraska.

But it is a vain supposition, to assume that it can be a slave State. New Mexico and Utah have been admitted as Territories, upon the condition that the voters shall settle the question when they come in as States. It is a question whether New Mexico will not come in as a free State. Her population are mostly Mexican, and are accustomed to her laws, which forbid slavery. And Utah also, out of her 15,000 population, had only 30 slaves. The proximity of Missouri to Nebraska does not, by any means, make it certain, that slavery must and will go into the new Territory, Missouri, instead of being able to *propagate* slavery, can not even *retain* it for herself. The men who live on the frontier tell us, they feel the utmost anxiety and alarm, for it must be a free State; and, if it is, slavery dies in Missouri, pierced through the heart.

More anon. Yours truly. LYNCEUS.

LETTER IX.

The Nature of Compromises—Missouri Compromise and Fugitive Slave Compromise compared—North and South contrasted—Southern Attempt to make Fugitive Compromise irrevocable—Compromises on Slavery contrary to national Policy of the Constitution—Public Meetings—New Policy for North—Instructions to Representatives.

Saint Louis, Sept. 7th, 1853.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I wish to say a few words more about compromises, and I am done. When one party fails to fulfil his part of a con-

tract, then the other party may demand, and compel them to do so, or depart from the previous engagement. What is fair for one side, is fair for the other. As it would have been a breach of the Missouri Compromise, for the north to have demanded a triangle 104 miles long and 60 wide, and exclude slavery from it, and take it away from Missouri, just so much a breach of the Compromise was committed, when so much of the *free, forever free*, territory was given to Missouri and slavery.

This crime has been wrought by the south, and that very violation has given to the north the right to demand, that Missouri shall be a free State. Upon certain conditions, the United States declared Missouri a slave State; the conditions violated, it instantly makes the question the same as before the Compromise, in which the north demanded it should be a free State. As it was made a slave State solely on these conditions, it would, if the north insisted upon it, become a free State, upon the holding of a single slave upon the forbidden premises. The fact that the north has not rebelled against this encroachment, that it has not demanded that the constitution of Missouri should be changed, and exclude slavery, does not relieve the south one particle for what they have done; for if the north was recreant in not guarding the interests of freedom, it is no excuse why the south, who form a part of the Union, should not come up and protect it. But the south not only did not protect her own Missouri Compromise, but sought its violation, and accomplished it.

But, if time and all the solemnities of legislation can not make firm and abiding one compromise, neither can they another. Our Congress has again passed a Compromise, as it has been unjustly called. In the Missouri Compromise, the north were demandants. In the *nigger*-rendition Compromise, the south were demandants. In the Missouri Compromise, the south were the promissors. In the negro-rendition Compromise, the north were promissors. In the Missouri Compromise, the south promised to keep its hands off this Nebraska Territory.

In the slave-rendition Compromise, the north promised to chase, hunt, catch, hold, and deliver back to bondage every poor fugitive slave.

In the Missouri Compromise, the south promised a humane, just, and holy thing. In the nigger-catching Compromise, the north promised an inhuman, unjust, and unholy thing.

In the Missouri Compromise, the south, by their vote, settled that question. In the black Compromise, the north, by their vote, sustained it.

In the Missouri Compromise, the south gave a promise *forever*, designing that the act should never be revoked, for its execution would always be salutary. In the slave-catching Compromise, no time was specified, for the continuance of the act, for it can breed no good to any one.

But how did these Compromises stand in their operation? The Missouri Compromise has never yet had but one chance for trial, and how fared it? Missouri wanted the triangle,—the richest soil within her present borders, in order to extend the curse over it,—and she obtained it. We are on the eve of the question once more, and what says the promissor now? Senator Atchison, the acting Vice President of the United States, may be considered as the exponent of southern opinion. In speeches he has been making, in various portions of the State, he is reported as taking the ground, and, in effect, asserting, that he will fight the admission of Nebraska, unless it can come in without the Wilmot Proviso; that it shall come in as a slave Territory, or, at least, with the question left open, and all done to foster slavery that is possible There are men in western Missouri, who are tampering with the Indians, and trying to induce the ablest

of them to become slaveholders. The very question before Congress, the very reason why Nebraska is not thrown open already, is, that the south are unwilling to stand to the Missouri Compromise—are unwilling that a free Territory should be erected on the frontier of the down-falling slave State of Missouri. The south originated, presented, and passed, the Missouri Compromise, but they have never respected or preserved it.

But how is it with the north and her black Compromise? She passed it, and laid it on her own shoulders, because of the blusterings of the Memphis Convention of southern disunionists. And, again and again, has she come up with the sword of justice, and the arm of law, and a debauched public sentiment, all bearing down upon one poor, trembling victim, and consigned him to injustice and despair. Oh, glorious, sublime, transcendant work! Oh, noble, humane, Christian spirit! What joy swells the bosom of the universal north, as it contemplates each of its God-like achievements. Well may ye exclaim, "*We* are the men of principle; *we* sustain the Union; *we* caught him; *we* kept the south in good humor; the nigger can't be very smart; *we*, (14,000,000 *of us*,) caught him,—*he* can not help himself,—*he* must go back!"

But, in some very sinful places, where twice or thrice humanity has triumphed over insensibility, and conscience conquered fear, and the eyes God gave him to guide him, the feet to carry him, and the intellect to counsel him, operated well, and the endangered wretch escaped from you, (14,000,000 freemen;) why, what has been the result? The northern press has denounced it, and the south has rung a tocsin of alarm and horror, at your faithlessness and perversity in opposing and violating the nigger-rendition Compromise. And, to make amends, and show your true love for slavery, and your sincere repentance for your neglect, you permit freemen to be kidnapped; and, when in violation of your own statutes, slaves are brought into your bounds, and are freed by your laws, you annul the statute by paying their full value, until even Louisiana herself convulses with laughter at your ridiculous sycophancy.

And, to add indignity to your degradation, to rule you with a heavier rod than they lay on their own slaves, last winter they attempted to add the "*forever*," to this nigger-rendition Compromise, to pass it in such a manner that it could never be revoked—that it should become a permanent statute—which should end only when the last slave in the Union was dead. They failed to obtain it. Thank God, he set a bound to northern infatuation and venality, and they failed to obtain it!

Do not misunderstand me. I would see the Constitution of my country honored and upheld, although it contains the rendition of fugitives. But I abominate a sycophancy, which, with eagerness, offers itself as a tool to accomplish such unhallowed work. Let those who are accustomed to bind, and drive, and consider as property their fellow-men, let them come, and get, and take away what they can *legally* prove their own. There is something in *passivity* in this thing, a thousand times preferable to activity. And while I would thus passively submit to the demands of the Constitution, and I would have all my fellow-citizens do the same, I would myself, and I would have them, with *intense* activity, labor to have that Constitution so modified, as to relieve me of even my passive submission to so sad an ordinance. No; if it be two years, or five, or fifty, that this clause shall stand in our Constitution, let us honor it, let us sustain it; but, with each year, let us double our efforts to make the Constitution of our country what our fathers designed it—a bulwark of human happiness and freedom—not a bulwark of degradation and slavery.

My soul burns like as with fire, when I look upon these two Compromises, their characters, and their fulfilment. The perfidy of the south, their violation of their solemn promises, their present hostility, and their impious demands that the Missouri Compromise shall be taken off the Nebraska Territory, or *it shall not come in;* and then their abuse of the north when poor serf as she is, she has tried to be perfect in their service, and has fallen but little short of it.

And that recreant north, that, for party power and spoils, has sold out the interests of humanity and freedom, and has permitted that fair triangle to become accursed, who is even now slumbering with this question impending, where slavery is again attempting to carry the bulwarks of freedom, who is so faithful in fulfilling her *bad promises* to so false a partner.

But the whole system of Compromises, between the north and south, rests upon untenable grounds. Demands are made by the south, and acknowledged by the north, without a particle of evidence or justice. The Constitution is so construed by the south, as to defeat all legislation which could benefit the north, and yet to pass *every* enactment which can help the south. Now, this is not a national policy, and it is far from the course intended by our fathers; and the north is as deeply, yes, even more deeply to blame than the south, for the north has had the power, if she had possessed the *will*, to control this whole thing, and keep it right.

When our Constitution was drafted, slavery was an existing institution in all the colonial States. It was, however, looked upon as a relic of barbarism and cruelty, which would fade away, when brought in contact with the glorious principles of equality and freedom, published to the world in that document as the sentiments and practice of this nation. But all men could not be expected to be equally expeditious in washing their hands of this stain. Circumstances might make it impossible to some; extreme laziness, or avarice, or even corporeal lordship, might lead some to retain their slaves, long after the intelligent, generous, and Christian, had set their's free. The Constitution was a voluntary obligation, and it did not intend to bring even these avaricious men into circumstances where itself should make them personal losers. The Constitution, therefore, provided for the rendition of fugitives; but all at that day, and when they adopted the Constitution, all expected the time, when the progress of freedom would annul the statute entirely, and when no man could be found, so avaricious or lazy as to continue a practice so contrary to his own boasted theory of human rights.

The Constitution in the same manner, in providing for the apportionment of districts for representation, would not treat the slave sections, who voluntarily subscribed to it with such rigor, that their slaves should not be counted at all; but it did and does make a difference between the slave and the free black; and by making this difference, instead of rewarding slavery, or encouraging it, the Constitution branded it, and sought to hasten its overthrow. Three free blacks count as much as five slaves, in the representation; so that if the south would to-day set their slaves free, they could gain in the representation in Congress a full million of population. This is the true state of the case. The Constitution was, by no means, a perfect document; it was a platform upon which the States could stand confederated; and it sought to do as little to countenance or encourage slavery as possible; it was intended to increase and encourage freedom.

But how has this Constitution worked, and what is it now declared to teach?

She south coolly tell us, that the institution of slavery is an inseparable element in our governmental organization and existence; that our fathers meant to have it continue *forever*, and provided in the Constitution for the giving up of all fugitives from oppression. We are told, that the south was intended to stand upon an equality of power with the north, and that representation was granted for slaves on that account; and that *now*, as freedom by the course of nature outstrips slavery, that, therefore, the whole effort of Government, by war, by purchase, by threatening, shall be expended in increasing the territory, and strengthening the claims of the south.

Now, this action has had some peculiar motive power. It has not sprung up in a day. The change from the noble and real sentiments and hopes of our fathers to those which their degenerate sons now impute to them, has been gradual. We can, however, date its rise to the time, when cotton first became a staple production of the south. The great profit arising from the labor of slaves in its cultivation, and the vast amount of capital invested in human flesh, step by step, led the south to love instead of hate slavery; and then to defend and propagate it; and as, year by year, this profit and investment grew larger, the more powerful became this determination. These are the springs which have moved the sentiments and actions of the south, that have made her so imperious and insulting in her demands and threats, and in this has the spirit of compromise germinated, and grown up to bear such loathsome fruits.

The Missouri Compromise itself was a blow in the very face of freedom, which has made her reel to the present hour. *Then*, the north should have stood firm, and demanded that the principles which the Federal Government and the Constitution were intended to carry out, should be respected and fulfilled. She should have had no parley with slavery. She ought to have passed a system of gradual emancipation for Missouri, and given her citizens the privilege to remove elsewhere, or, if they chose, remain to abide the action of her laws. But no! the north gave way to the growing plague-spot. The north permitted the south to make one conquest, and it is for that reason that the south do not and have not regarded or respected their own Missouri Compromise. The north quailed and faltered, the south learned the pusillanimity of the north, and profited by it. She has already made onset after onset with success, and she will do it in the future; and, if the north will bow her obsequious head a little lower, she will soon be dragged onward, chained to the chariot wheels of the south.

When we received lands from Mexico, over which laws prohibitory of slavery had been long in full force, the north should have declared, that the principles of our Republic demanded them to remain free forever. But no; the south demanded that the *balance of power* should be kept up! *What* balance of power? What clause of the Constitution provides for legislating *one* portion of the Republic *backwards* and the *other* portion *forwards* to keep them *even*? New Mexico and Utah have also, by northern compromising, been placed as a bait to southerners, to excite them to extend the area of human slavery.

Again, the south demands a new law respecting fugitives, and the north grants a law, in its spirit ond details, far beyond what the framers of the Constitution ever dreamed of. And now, again, the south demands the removal of the Eissouri Compromise from the beautiful Nebraska Territory. What will the north do? Has she got traitors enough in Congress to betray the interests of the north, of the nation, of the world, for the pecuniary interest of a portion of the south? Oh, that the north would see

how she has slept at her post! Our nation is the beacon of freedom to the *world*, and the north is the *only* part of our land that has any freedom, either of body or mind, of tongue, action, or press! And the north should *bring every one* of its representatives to the ALTAR *of freedom*, and make them *swear uncompromising* HATRED TO SLAVERY, AND ETERNAL FIDELITY TO HUMAN FREEDOM; and, if he proves recreant, consign him to obscurity, and his name to oblivion, or rather preserve it with the execration and loathing, which *embalm* the memory of a traitor to his country.

These Compromises, as far as the south is concerned, arise from avarice, selfishness, and love of power; but what do they arise from on the part of the north? Venality and cowardice! It is a constant bidding for the political influence and friendship of the south, or a constant fear of her threatened action. Do you pretend that these Compromises are from love to the Union? The Union is valuable only as it makes our nation, and our nation is valuable, only as she fulfils a mission of peace, prosperity, liberty, and Christianity, to her own people and the world. And the man who truly loves his nation must wish this blot, this stain, this curse, removed from it; for we should be firmer, richer, and better without it. If *ever*, a man ought to be brave when he is in the right. He should not let the bravadoes, or the threats, or the imaginations of others, turn him from his duty; if consequences of sorrow follow from his action, far better that his conduct had been right than wrong. The south, for 30 years, have been threateners,—a minority *denying* to a majority the *right* either of judgment or legislation.

In every instance, the south has had a point to carry, and she respectfully begins thus: "We would be *pleased* to have you do thus and thus." The north opposes strongly; the voice of the south rises; "you *must* do thus and thus; *we* say, you MUST." Still the north objects. The south at last, with fierce gesticulation, screams, "If you don't do it, you'll repent the hour; do it now, or *we* will do something horrible—we surely will!—Don't tempt our spirit *too* far—we'll withdraw from the Union—yes, we'll *dissolve* the Union—we'll have a *civil* war!" And then the chivalrous north comes in, with a timid, "Oh, don't—do not be rash! Let us reflect a little." The south answers, with indignation, "Think quick, or it will be too late—the *exigencies* of the times are terrible—act INSTANTLY, or the Union goes to pieces!" And the north, with a wry face, replies, "That would be a terrible calamity; we do not like your demands; but WE can not take the RESPONSIBILITY of *dividing* this glorious Union; so just fix it to suit yourselves, and do be quiet, and not scare us any more with such awful threats."

What contemptible folly! What a farce is our country playing in the face of the world and of posterity! Who ever heard of the north threatening the division of the Union? Who ever heard of her doing *any thing* to injure slavery? Where has she ever appeared so dreadful a monster, that she must be chained with compromises to restrain her powers? It is madness, it is the height of shame, cowardice, and self-contempt, for the north to stand, by the half century, and be branded as the disturber of the nation's peace, and then *admit* before the world, that SHE IS THE ONE to blame, and make the reparations due by some one else. There is a *lie* in it; it is perjury against one's fair fame and interests; it is a scourging of *righteousness*, and a rewarding of *sin*. An hour will come, when our children will stand stupified with amazement, as they read of the recreancy of the north to her interests, and to every noble principle of national and individual action; and they, the children of the south as well as the

north, will brand upon all these compromises their true characters, craven cowardice, and inhuman treachery.

But what can the north do to retrace her steps? There are two things now presented, which demand IMMEDIATE ACTION; and they can be rightly settled, and will make a good beginning for a new course of policy.—The first is, that the Missouri Compromise shall be inviolate; the other is, that the Pacific Railroad shall be built where right demands it, as near the straight line from New York to San Francisco as it can be run, and that it shall neither swerve to the north or south of that line, neither to please men, nor to save expense.

Were there in the north the same local feeling, that there is, in the south, the same self-respect, and self-reliance, our nation would have been a different nation from what it is to-day. We should then have had a *national* policy, while now there is *no* NATIONAL policy, but to *gratify foreigners*, and *conciliate cotton bales*. No great or noble work can be undertaken by the Government, because the *South* deems such things *unconstitutional*. Our rivers can receive no improvements, the harbors no protection, the lakes no lighthouses. But it is all *right*, when a President unconstitutionally commences a war to benefit the SOUTH; it is all right to excite war in Cuba, and either buy or conquer it for slavery. It is all right to accept the hospitality of Mexico, and then violate her laws, and make her execution of those laws the *excuse* for stealing her territory by force of arms.

It is the policy of the south to keep so much work before the nation, that she shall spend all her energies upon that, in order that the repose of the "divine institution" be not disturbed. This is truly a fine, a delightful, a worthy policy for a GREAT nation! To be forever legislating for one locality, and that the poorest and the *meanest*, (according to its extent,) of the whole domain. That for her all else should stand still; the shuttles of the north silent, the furnaces of the middle cold, and the shipping of the whole unprotected.

I wish I could ask every freeman of the United States, "Has not this thing gone far enough? Is it not time that there was a mighty change? *When* can there be a more auspicious time to commence a *national* policy, and to adopt the true policy of *our* nation; which should be the development of all our natural resources; and, in reference to slavery, TO LET IT ALONE: to legislate always against its extension, but never for its propagation; and thus to carry out the original intention of the framers of our Government?"

Nebraska is free, if the south will respect the Missouri Compromise; but make the matter sure—meet the question manfully, on the spot—and say to slavery, "This Territory is free, and *never* shall your blighting foot be set upon it."

But, in reference to this railroad, what has the United States done for the south, within the last ten years? She has added to her domain the vast State of Texas, and paid her debts to the amount of nearly 15,000,000 dollars. For her also, to defend this new State, or, in better truth, to obtain still newer ones, she has undertaken a war with Mexico, which has cost more than 300,000,000 of money, and for years has been sustaining, at a ruinous expense, the main body of her army on the frontier of her new possessions.

More than 40,000 lives, the demoralization of more than 1,000,000 of our inhabitants through the influence of the returned army, the withdrawment of so many men from walks of industry and usefulness, and about

325,000,000 dollars have been spent for the south, and the south *alone*, in the last ten years; while the north and west have had *small* pittances *doled* out to them, for their crying necessities, and that, after begging on their knees, year after year, to obtain them.

Now, *enough* will be heard from the south about economy, in the new road. They will cause the Government to make a very *poor face* over this great national work, but look at it one moment!

The contract was offered to Congress, to build the whole road at about $35,000 per mile. The road from Fort Leavenworth to San Francisco is about 1800 miles long; but add two hundred miles for tunnelling, bridging, &c., and call it 2,000; and, at $35,000 per mile, it would cost complete but $70,000,000; and even putting the cost of the road at $50,000 per mile, then 2000 miles would cost $100,000,000; and the first year's business would pay for all the cars, engines, and houses, needed on the whole road. What if it can be built cheaper, by 5,000,000, or even 10,000,000, or even 20,000,000 dollars, by any other route than the true one? Ought not the *north* to have it? Does not her population, her vast productions, her great necessities, her remoteness in every direction from the sea, make it hers in justice and right? I would not wrong the south, but I would have the north RIGHT herself. The south has no *need* of that railroad; her domestic commerce is done by northern bottoms. She needs only articles for her own consumption. The question in building a railroad is *no where*, "*Where will it cost* least?" but "Where will it *pay most*?" And, in this day of straight lines and lightning speed, it is puerile and silly, that a few millions of dollars should locate this GREAT ROAD of the WORLD out of the line of business, away from its proper course. All South America lies open for our commerce, the lap of Africa is full of treasures for us to obtain, and our whole Atlantic commerce, north and south, can find as profitable and comfortable work in those, as in being mere auxilliaries to the Chinese and East India traffic. The line should go north, from ocean to ocean!

But what can the north do? Let Whigs and Democrats all feel and think that, however they may differ upon political theories and plans, that there should be a national policy, there is a *north* to be cared for as well as a *south*, an *interior* as well as a *coast*; that as, upon great questions, the political distinctions of southrons are subjected to their southern policy and plans, so, when great questions of vital interest to the whole Union, and especially to the north, arise, that they as one man should come up to their defense, and for the time lay by all party feelings, in order to bless the nation. Sooner or later, we must come to this. Had this been the course of this nation for the last 30 years, slavery would to-day have scarcely had a name. It is the true way to help Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, to become free, and join your ranks and strengthen your hands.

"But," you ask, "how can we commence?" Let public meetings be called, by both the political parties, in every town and hamlet north of the Ohio river. Let them *thrust out* from their nominations, and purge their places of trust, of EVERY TIME-SERVING, SLAVE-ADORING DOUGHFACE, and let them demand of their *old* and *new* delegates, whether they will vote for the *Wilmot proviso* for Nebraska, and for a railroad, to run either through Bridger's, or the South Pass.

Let them instruct their representatives that, if the south will not pass the Wilmot proviso on Nebraska, and thus re-enact the Missouri Compromise, that they repeal all the particular *provisions* of the *fugitive* SLAVE LAW, and let the south catch her own slaves, without either assistance or hindrance, as

they did before the act. And let Congress further demand the freedom of the 4,588 slaves, now in the Half-breed Triangle, which was added *unconstitutionally* to Missouri, in 1836, and let it be forthwith proclaimed free.

Think not that I am an abolitionist, I have, and can have, no sympathy with their feelings, plans, or actions; but I love to see the affairs of a nation administered on a basis of equality, and I hate to see men active in *doing* evil, and strengthening the woes of our nation, while they are recreant and cowardly in *doing* right, and bringing blessings upon her.

Such a course of action, and upon these two great questions, would establish a basis and form a precedent for the future. It would help each party to stop the increasing debauchery which is pervading them. They could, by pausing and making a new start, from a point where they should have stood years ago, cast out the bias of southern influence and fear, which has so long governed their national councils and elections. The south would learn, then, that the United States elected her Presidents without her dictation; that the United States' Congress ruled to bless the nation, and not alone to uphold slavery; and never, until that time shall come, can the nation prosper, or advance in her full strength to influence, usefulness, and glory.

I would that I could raise my voice until it could reach every northern ear, to invite the shoemaker with his last, the tailor with his shears, the carpenter with his plane, the blacksmith with his sledge, the engineer with his locomotive, the surveyor with his compass, the physician with his chemicals, the lawyer with his brief, and the minister with his Bible, to come into this growing State of Missouri, and help to turn the scale for freedom, or to go into the beautiful Nebraska, and help to lay the first foundations of a noble State,—the central State of this noble Union.

Yours truly.

LYNCEUS.

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